

Peru frees Blanco

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THE MILITANT

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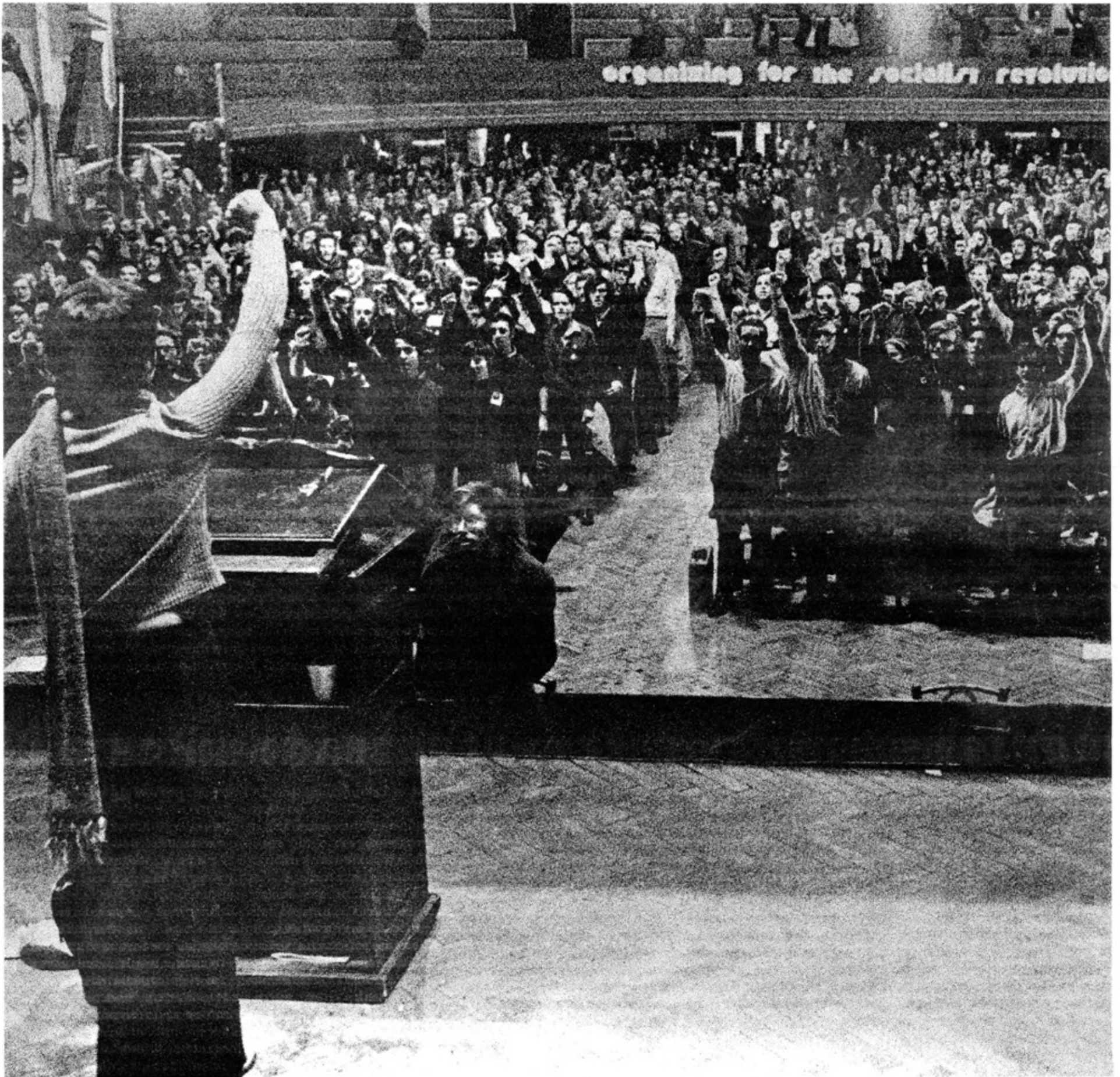


Photo by Howard Petrick

1,200 YOUNG SOCIALISTS PLAN MAJOR CAMPUS DRIVE

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CONFRONTATION IN ARKANSAS: By all accounts, it was one of the bloodiest encounters between Blacks and police in recent Arkansas history. By Rev. Ezra Greer's calculations, 75 Blacks were injured, ranging from bullet wounds to broken bones suffered at the hands of police and white vigilantes. Rev. Greer is a founder of the Crittenden County Improvement Association. By telephone, he said that protests had been lodged with state officials, but there has been no response. Not surprisingly, the whole episode, which occurred in September, has been virtually ignored by the nation's press. We recently learned what happened.

The march had begun as a prayer vigil by several hundred Blacks, from a local church in Earle, Ark., to city hall. The day before, 30 Black students at Earle High had been arrested after they staged a walkout to dramatize the raw deal they'd gotten as a result of desegregation of the school system. When Earle High was merged with all-Black Dunbar High this fall under a federal desegregation plan, Black students remained decidedly second-class citizens. Blacks were in one class, whites in another. Lunch periods were scheduled at different times for whites and Blacks. Students had no recreation periods—cut from the daily schedule, says Rev. Greer, so that whites and Blacks wouldn't mingle. Blacks were left out of extracurricular activities from cheer-leading to student government, while Black teachers, principals and coaches were demoted. "The students didn't like it," Rev. Greer told this column. "Blacks didn't have anything to say about desegregation plans or policies—despite the fact that the school was 60 to 70 percent Black."

Arrests followed the walkout, and when Blacks massed for a vigil, city, state and county police converged on the Black demonstrators. In a barrage of gunfire, Jessie Maple was shot in the back by police. The firing began without warning. Gladys Smith, then pregnant, was severely beaten, her right eye knocked out of its socket. Jackie Greer received head injuries. And the minister himself was seized by police, tossed into a circle of club-wielding cops, and beaten and maced while the chief of police and Mayor Jimmy King watched. Greer sustained a broken rib, broken wrist, and fractured hand, laceration of the head requiring 28 stitches, and a concussion on the right side of his head.

INTEGRATION REASSESSED: Federally-backed integration programs throughout the South are resulting in new forms of discrimination, an important study issued last month by the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville confirmed. Earle, Ark., is not alone. The merger of white and Black schools is "decimating the ranks of Black classroom teachers and threatening Black principals with extinction," the center reports. Three years ago, for example, there were more than 620 Black principals in North Carolina. Now there are 170. Mississippi has lost more than 250 Black principals in the last two years. Black department heads tend to be relieved of their titles under the desegregation plans, and teachers face demotion. Similarly, Black teachers got the short end when in nine of 11 southern states, the Black teacher associations merged with their white counterparts. In all nine states, the Black group's top executive was made an "associate" or "assistant" to a white man in the merged group.

ADOPTION RULING: This may be 1971 but some public officials apparently think it's still the Middle Ages. Witness the case of 18-month-old Katey Burke. She was adopted by John and Cynthia Burke shortly after she was born. Now Newark Superior Court judge William Camarata says the parents will have to give Katey up because they don't believe in a supreme being. The Burkes, who have since moved to Carterville, Ill., admit they have no religious affiliation. The case is now being challenged in the appellate court. John Burke says he'll take it to the Supreme Court if necessary. "I feel it is unconstitutional," he said in an interview. "It's an abrogation of my civil rights. It enforces a religion on me. Its ultimate goal is to enforce a religion on Katey."

MERCURY SCANDAL: Homestake Mining Co. in Lead, S.D., is no ordinary polluter. The largest gold producing company in the United States, Homestake produces 40 percent of the gold in the western hemisphere. It's also "one of the largest sources of mercury pollution in the U.S.," says Robert Markey, director of enforcement at the regional office of the federal Water Quality Administration. "We did some fieldwork in January and August of last year," Markey informs this column, "and found significant levels of mercury. Every day, between 20 and 40 pounds of mercury pours into Whitewood Creek and mixes with the bottom sediments. The extent of the pollution, asserts Markey, "is very serious." Mercury is the

chief compound currently used to recover gold, and although other methods are available, Homestake Mining has balked at the Water Quality Administration's order to stop dumping mercury by Jan. 14. The company has asked for a six-month extension of its deadline in a letter to the regional agency. Wrote James O. Harder, vice-president and operations manager for Homestake: "We need a reasonable length of time to determine whether or not we can take this step and still maintain a profitable gold operation."

TRIPLE OPPRESSION: Two Black YSAers, Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman, have written a lucid, often eloquent account of the oppression of Black women—as women, as Blacks and as workers. **Black Women's Liberation** (Pathfinder Press, 15 pp., 25 cents) deserves the widest circulation. . . . **HUNG JURY IN GROPPI CASE:** Father James Groppi's trial on disorderly conduct, stemming from the takeover of the Wisconsin Legislature in 1969, has ended in a hung jury. He tells us that a second charge, contempt of the assembly, is up before a federal court of appeals in Chicago. . . . **THE FT. HAMILTON "GANG":** A high Army official has admitted that the U.S. military transfers some GIs solely because they exercise their Constitutional free-speech rights. On Dec. 22, Major-General Richard G. Ciccolella labeled Sp/4 David Cortright a "troublemaker" and the leader of a "little gang" of dissidents at the New York military base. Ciccolella's statements came in the midst of a hearing before a federal district court where 32 soldiers are suing the Army, charging their rights have been infringed. Federal judge Jack B. Weinstein ordered a 30-day extension of the case to allow the Army to supply information ordered earlier in the proceedings. Gen. Ciccolella admitted that he had ordered Cortright transferred to Ft. Bliss on the grounds that he and other antiwar GIs in the 26th Army Band were "weakening general morale, its discipline and its effectiveness." Attorney Fred Cohn is chief counsel for the soldiers.

MORE HARASSMENT FOR STARKY: The socialist professor who lost his job at Arizona State for his political beliefs has run into more right-wing harassment at San Diego State College. An editorial in the **San Diego Union** last month noted a recent speech by Prof. Morris Starky. "We suggest to San Diego State officials," said the editorial, "that they consider him a prime candidate for the Arizona treatment." Since then, a Minuteman death threat was pasted on his office door, his apartment door, and his mailbox. The stickers were inscribed "Communist traitor beware," and said that there are "gunsights on the back of your neck." There was a picture on the sticker of a gunsight. On Dec. 11, the campus newspaper, the **Daily Aztec**, ran a false news item that a "gay-in" would be held at Starky's address. The notice had been submitted by someone posing as vice-president of the Gay Liberation Front. On Dec. 22, leaflets were placed outside the doors of all the apartments in Starky's apartment building. The leaflet contained photostats of the newspaper editorial, the false "gay-in" notice, and a news story run last September headlined "Controversial Professor at SD State." Starky says there appears to be a deluge of right-wing calls, news clippings, and letters into administrative offices trying to block his reappointment. Meanwhile, a lawsuit filed in Arizona demanding damages and Starky's reinstatement is scheduled for a hearing early this month. The state attorney general has filed a motion to dismiss the suit.

FIGHT CHARGES: The FBI last month arrested William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne on charges of harboring the Rev. Daniel Berrigan last August. Berrigan was then evading a three-year sentence for destroying draft records. "We believe that we really are innocent of the charges made in the indictment," Stringfellow told this column from his home on Block Island. Contributions to aid the defense can be sent to the Stringfellow-Towne Defense Fund, c/o Melvin Schoonover, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027. . . . **CHAVEZ OUT:** Cesar Chavez, arrested for refusing to call off the nationwide lettuce boycott and lettuce strike, was released Dec. 23. Meanwhile, a United Farm Workers Organizing Committee official has accused the Defense Dept. of attempting to break the boycott by stepping up its purchases of lettuce sold by firms that do not have contracts with the union. . . . **NO BAIL FOR SEATTLE ACTIVISTS:** Seven Seattle radicals, charged with contempt in their abortive conspiracy trial, were denied bail Dec. 28 by Judge George Boldt, who claimed they were dangerous. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals had earlier ordered that bails be set.

—RANDY FURST



U.S. Congress gives Nixon full support on Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

A significant bill was approved by the U. S. Congress on Dec. 22, endorsing a long-term commitment of U. S. military support to the Cambodian regime of Premier Lon Nol.

Although the "Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971" in earlier stages included a rider prohibiting the use of U. S. ground forces in Cambodia, this rider was revised to meaningless in the finally-approved wording of the bill.

Hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate debate over the special foreign aid bill underscored that administration supporters and "doves" alike agree on the strategic importance of the Pnompenh government to Washington's military designs in Southeast Asia.

In an important editorial Dec. 16, the *Wall Street Journal* stated, "The aid request was no ordinary one. . . . Congress has not previously approved a specific aid program for Cambodia; everyone agrees that this initial request must be viewed as the down-payment on a long-range policy of at least financial backing for that nation, and that to approve the request is to endorse that policy."

The *Wall Street Journal* called attention to the fact that prominent "doves" on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the strategic implications of the bill: "Senator [John Sherman] Cooper observed that after all, President Truman gave the French \$2-billion in aid for their Indo-China war without ever sending troops, and likewise President Eisenhower aided the Vietnamese government without large U. S. forces."

There could hardly be a clearer illustration of the fact that "dove" criticism of administration policies never questions the fundamental basis of these policies: the assumed "right" of foreign imperialism to dictate the terms of government to the peoples of Southeast Asia. The doves support and defend this "right."

Their disagreements center on tactical questions about how most effectively

to carry out imperialist policies. Senator Cooper and Senator Frank Church, authors of the well-known "Cooper-Church Amendment," designed to deflect student criticism of the attack on Cambodia last May, were outspoken in their endorsement of the Special Foreign Assistance Act.

Much of the Senate debate on this act centered on an amendment to the act sponsored by Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) which would have eliminated further aid to the Pnompenh government. Church spoke against the Gravel amendment:

"I said a moment ago that the original incursion into Cambodia was a mistake. I reassert it now. When we invaded Cambodia last spring only one-tenth of that country was in Communist hands. Today more than one-half of that country is in Communist hands."

"Presently there is chaos in Cambodia. The only highway open is the highway which links Pnompenh with Saigon, and that highway is guarded by the South Vietnamese army. Every other highway is blocked, the waterways are blocked, and the bridges blown."

"Economically, the rice cannot be transported, and the rubber plantations are down. Politically, the government is a prisoner in its own capital; it cannot confidently claim control that extends much beyond the airport."

"This chaos is the end product of what the President once described as the most successful single operation of the war. In essence, Cambodia, as a country, is a wreck. . . ."

"But I will not stand on this floor and say we have no responsibility for what has happened in Cambodia. We have responsibility. . . . That is the first reason why I oppose the [Gravel] amendment, because now, having taken part and assumed responsibility, we have to pay a price for the policy. . . ."

"If the present wreckage leads to a total collapse, as it well might without the assistance this bill extends, then

the prospects for the further extrication of American troops from South Vietnam will be clouded, indeed." (*Congressional Record*, Dec. 15, p. S 20190.)

The king is dead, long live the king! Church not only favors indefinite U. S. imposition of the Lon Nol regime on the Cambodian peoples, but he indirectly admits that U. S. "withdrawal" from Southeast Asia is contingent on the successful imposition of a pro-U. S. regime in South Vietnam as well.

A small group of Representatives sharply criticized the special aid bill and pointed to its real implications in a minority report: "It is clear," they stated, "that the quantity of aid to Cambodia authorized by this bill will require a substantial increase in the number of American military personnel in Cambodia."

"Ostensibly these men would be involved only in logistics supply activities related to the delivery and use of American military equipment to be bought with funds authorized by this bill."

"It is but a short step, however, from such tasks to combat field advisory work. And, as the Vietnam experience shows us, the next step can be direct combat involvement of American fighting men. *No witness, it should be pointed out, would predict that such a chain of events would not be repeated for Cambodia.*" (*Congressional Record*, Dec. 15, p. S 20235. Emphasis added.)

The special aid bill cleared the Senate by a vote of 72 to 22 with 6

abstentions. Among those voting in favor, besides Church and Cooper, were Eugene McCarthy, Edmund Muskie and Adlai Stevenson III.

The version of the bill passed by the Senate contained a rider prohibiting the use of combat troops in Cambodia without special Congressional approval. However a Senate-House conference committee added to this rider a provision stating that this prohibition would not prevent the president from taking any steps he deemed necessary to promote the safe and orderly withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam—the excuse Nixon gave for invading Cambodia in the first place!

A revealing side aspect of the Senate debate on the military aid bill surrounded the question of sending U. S. combat forces to Israel. The retiring Delaware senator, John J. Williams, one of the duPont family representatives in Congress, attempted to add to the rider forbidding U. S. combat forces in Cambodia, a provision also forbidding their use in Israel.

Williams' amendment was adamantly opposed by such supporters of Israel as New York senator Jacob Javits. Again, however, it was the so-called doves who took the lead in defeating the Williams amendment.

Church successfully moved to table the Williams amendment. The motion to table was approved 60 to 20 with 20 abstentions. Senators Cooper, Edward Kennedy and Edmund Muskie also joined in tabling the amendment that would have prohibited the use of U. S. ground forces in Israel.

"During the last six months, there has been steady and notable progress in military, political, social, and economic fields. Vietcong losses in personnel, weapons, and logistics support have increased sharply. Government forces are making forays into Vietcong strongholds which were never penetrated during the whole course of the Indochina war. Defections from the Vietcong have increased. Popular support is being gained by the government. The rural population is rejecting Communism. The people are fighting to protect themselves against the Communist guerrillas." Adm. H.D. Felt, commander in chief in the Pacific, May 14, 1963. (*Congressional Record*, Dec. 15, 1970, p. S 20235.)

Regis Debray wins release from Bolivian prison

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

The French revolutionist Régis Debray was released from prison in Bolivia December 23. He and five other prisoners were flown from Camiri, in the southeastern part of the country, to Iquique, Chile.

The author of *Revolution in the Revolution?* was captured by the Bolivian military on April 19, 1967, shortly after he had left the guerrilla camp of Che Guevara. Debray was convicted by a court-martial on charges of murder, robbery, and treason for allegedly participating in the guerrilla movement. While not attempting to conceal his support for the guerrillas, Debray testified that his only role had been that of a journalist.

He had served more than three

years of his thirty-year sentence. Released along with him were the Argentine painter Roberto Bustos and four Bolivians: Antonio Domínguez Flores, Orlando Jiménez Bazán, José Castillo Chavez, and Eusebio Tapia Arumio. All had been captured at the same time as Debray. Bustos was sentenced to thirty years. The four Bolivians were never brought to trial.

The amnesty decree was signed by President Juan José Torres, the general who came to power October 8 on the back of the mass upsurge touched off by an attempted coup of extreme right-wing generals. Torres has been under considerable pressure to justify his claims to being more "leftist" than his predecessors. The *Christian Science Monitor's* Latin America corre-

spondent James Nelson Goodsell wrote December 29:

"It is generally assumed in La Paz . . . that Gen. Juan José Torres . . . is using the release of Mr. Debray to curb some of his own leftist dissent in Bolivia over his go-slow approach on effecting reforms which the Left seeks."

Torres apparently had to overcome opposition in the armed forces in order to release the six prisoners. An Associated Press dispatch from La Paz printed in the December 24 *Washington Post* said that army officers involved in the suppression of the 1967 guerrilla operation had objected to the amnesty. (Torres himself helped direct the campaign against Guevara.)

The amnesty decree barred the released prisoners from ever returning to Bolivia.



Regis Debray

Hugo Blanco freed; Creus still in prison

(From Intercontinental Press)

The following statement was issued by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners on January 5. The address of the USLA is P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10001.

A Reuters dispatch from Lima, Peru, dated December 22, announced that Hugo Blanco was among "about 100 political prisoners" freed that day. The dispatch was a very short one. It mentioned no other names than that of Hugo Blanco, and it was given hardly any publicity in the United States. Even the *New York Times* printed it only in an early edition.

Through its own connections, the USLA was able to verify the report. A friend of the USLA in Lima mailed newspaper clippings, and finally one of our supporters called in to tell us that he had been able to talk with Hugo Blanco on the telephone.

The government of General Velasco Alvarado signed an amnesty December 21. Besides Blanco, it included the well-known revolutionists Héctor Béjar and Ricardo Gadea.

The Lima daily *Correo* of December 23 listed the following, in addition, as having been freed:

Gerardo Benavides, Pedro Candela, Armando Freyre, Omar Benavides, Antonio Meza, Adolfo Calderón, Miguel Tauro, Abelardo Collantes, Mario Calle, Marcelino Fonkén, Elio Portocarrero, Cirilo Mendoza, John Suárez, Mario Cossi, Eduardo Espinoza, Ernesto Alvarez, Oscar Ramos, and Sandro Mariátegui.

At least fourteen political prisoners are still being held, including an Argentine revolutionist Eduardo Creus, now recovering from an illness that required his being transferred to the prison hospital at Callao, Lima's port city.

Creus was arrested in 1962 on charges connected with the holdup of a bank in Lima by students seeking to raise funds for the guerrilla struggle in Peru.

The defendants in the bank holdup case were not brought to trial until July 1967. Although convicted, most of them were immediately released since they had been held in prison for periods of time equal to their sentences.

Creus, however, had been sentenced previously for his involvement with Hugo Blanco in organizing peasant unions in the valley of La Convención. Therefore, he was not freed with his codefendants in the bank case.

Over the telephone, Hugo Blanco said that he heard of the amnesty from other prisoners after it had been announced on the radio.

At first none of the prisoners believed the news. Blanco himself thought it might be a cruel joke.

On the morning of December 22, Blanco was still not prepared to believe it. His wife, Blanca, and his seven-year-old son, Chaupimayo, came to visit him and tell him the good news.

Hugo was cross with his companion.



This photo of Eduardo Creus (left) and Hugo Blanco was taken in secret and smuggled out of El Fronton prison in 1969 by Carlos Dominguez of the Lima magazine *Caretas*.



"Why did you have to tell that to the boy . . . They'll suddenly not let me go, and he'll suffer a lot."

Right after that, the order came to bring those named to the Palace of Justice.

The political prisoners in El Frontón affected by the amnesty were taken to the dock of the island prison.

There a crowd of prisoners shouted farewell and good wishes to them as they boarded a launch. The launch took them to Callao, and from there to the small jail of the Palace of Justice. From the jail they were taken to Lurigancho prison where they were released later in the day.

Blanco went immediately to the central prison office in Lima to ask about his comrade Eduardo Creus and why he, too, had not been freed.

The authorities told Blanco that Creus would not be released, because he was "not a political prisoner."

Blanco also went to the Ministry of

many years' campaign for my freedom. They saved my life at the time of my trial and now they have won my release. I ask that all those to whom I owe gratitude now open up a campaign for Eduardo Creus and the others who are still in prison. I ask them to fight the same way they fought to win freedom for me."

The December 24 issue of the Lima weekly magazine *Oiga* carried an interview granted by Hugo Blanco to Federico García.

Oiga's correspondent was interested in how Hugo Blanco felt after seven years and seven months in prison, part of it in solitary confinement.

"In the first place," Blanco said, "you have to understand that I am absolutely disoriented. My world, my whole world, was reduced to the prison. It is difficult to regain the feeling of being free. Everything seems new, different."

This sensation seemed to grow as Blanco talked. It became more and

diately to Cuzco. I have to get over this feeling of disorientation which is almost a physical pain.

"Although it may not seem to you that I'm telling the truth, I am learning all over again how to see, to hear, to cross the streets.

"All I feel like doing right now is to appeal for freedom for Creus and the other five comrades who are still in. Also I want to add my voice to the worldwide campaign seeking to rescue the Basque patriots from the clutches of Franco. In Mexico, too, there are political prisoners, like José Revueltas, and all kinds of patriots rotting in the prisons of the military dictatorships in Latin America."

As for the position of the political tendency he represents in Peru, Hugo Blanco said:

"My political group has made an analysis of the national situation. I hold to its conclusions. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that a change has occurred in the situation so that it could now well be designated capitalist reformism. I can't attempt a definitive judgment because of this syndrome of disorientation that makes it difficult for me to coordinate my views. I have the sensation of having just arrived from the moon and of discovering this planet all over again."

The Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos [CODDEH — Committee for the Defense of Human Rights], which directed the campaign in Peru for the prisoners' release, was jubilant over the great victory that had been scored.

The amnesty, CODDEH pointed out, was unconditional. The decree itself stated:

"Amnesty and pardon is granted to all those accused, indicted, or sentenced for crimes defined as political, social, or of a related nature."

CODDEH sponsored a giant fiesta in Lima December 30 to celebrate the victory.

Some 10,000 persons attended and heard speeches by the freed prisoners.

Hugo Blanco talked about the problems of the peasantry and the need for a genuinely thoroughgoing agrarian reform.

He then talked about his cellmate and comrade, Eduardo Creus, and the other political prisoners still suffering in the dungeons of Peru, and called for their release.

He received a huge ovation and was carried off in a triumphal march on the shoulders of the cheering crowd.

YSA convention message to Creus

Comrade Eduardo Creus,

The YSA, assembled in New York City at its Tenth National Convention, sends you our warmest revolutionary greetings. Our joy at the freedom of Comrade Hugo Blanco is matched by our determination to continue to fight for the freedom of those who remain in El Fronton. You have our pledge that we will not rest in this campaign—we will fight, inspired by the partial victory, until the victory is complete. Venceremos!

the Interior to take up the question with the higher authorities, but they refused to see him.

A defense committee was thereupon set up in Lima for Creus and others still being held and it immediately began distributing literature describing why they were political prisoners and why they, too, should be granted an immediate amnesty.

Blanco attributed the amnesty, which was opposed editorially by some bourgeois papers (notably *La Prensa*), to the international campaign in defense of the political prisoners.

An immediate factor, he said, was the desire of the Velasco government to gain popular support from the Peruvian masses. This could be done more cheaply by releasing political prisoners than by granting wage increases or other economic concessions.

The revolutionary fighter asked that the following message be forwarded to the USLA and all its supporters:

"I want to thank all the organizations and individuals who joined the

more difficult for him to speak. Nevertheless, he repeated his basic conceptions with the greatest firmness.

"I believe only in the socialist revolution," he said. "I am a militant in the Trotskyist movement; and I probably always will be."

Hugo Blanco, continued García, was especially grateful for the solidarity that had been shown toward him both in Peru and internationally.

"This solidarity shown by the popular organizations in Lima as well as in London or Paris helped me overcome the feeling of loneliness and the difficult hours. It's extraordinary to get messages of support and even checks from people you do not know, written in foreign languages, making you realize that you are not alone. It's like a handshake coming through a letter. The conscious solidarity of the workers is a great and beautiful thing!"

Asked about his plans, Hugo Blanco responded:

"I am not going to return imme-

Int'l campaign helped spur Blanco release

(From Intercontinental Press)

The release of Hugo Blanco is an inspiring victory for the entire Latin-American revolutionary movement. Peru's outstanding revolutionary figure became famous throughout the continent for his method of going directly to the peasants and helping them to organize themselves into powerful and militant unions, principally under slogans demanding recognition of their democratic rights, particularly those associated with a thoroughgoing agrarian reform.

The freeing of Hugo Blanco is likewise a great victory for the world Trotskyist movement. In court, facing a death sentence, Hugo Blanco proclaimed his adherence to the Fourth International and emphasized that the building of a revolutionary-socialist party represented the key to winning new socialist revolutions in Latin America following the Cuban revolution.

Every member of the Trotskyist movement internationally can feel proud of the success that finally crowned their persistent efforts, first to save his life and then to win his freedom through a worldwide defense campaign.

Hugo Blanco's release came a little more than seven and one-half years after his arrest. He was held for more than three years in Arequipa in solitary confinement, before he was finally brought to trial in Tacna.

After being sentenced, Hugo Blanco was taken to the prison island of El Frontón, notorious for its brutal conditions.

In both Arequipa and El Frontón, Hugo Blanco staged various hunger strikes in protest against the vile conditions under which he was held, or in solidarity with other prisoners whose rights were violated.

Captured by the Peruvian military forces, who hunted him down as a guerrilla fighter in 1963, Blanco was twice threatened with judicial murder, his life being saved in each instance only by a massive campaign of international protest.

Hugo Blanco grew up in Cuzco, where he saw at first hand the desperate poverty of the oppressed Indian masses who constitute the majority of the Peruvian population. From his youth, he spoke Quechua, the Indian language, as well as Spanish.

In the early 1950s, Blanco went to Argentina, where he studied agronomy and worked as an active union member in an American-owned meat-packing plant. When he returned to Peru, he helped to organize the giant demonstrations at the time of the visit of the then Vice-president Richard Nixon in 1958. Forced to flee Lima, Hugo Blanco returned to Cuzco, where he

and his comrades began to organize peasant unions.

In the upsurge of the Latin-American revolution inspired by the establishment of a workers state in Cuba, Hugo Blanco became a legendary figure in Peru. Working among the landless peasants of the valley of La Convención in the Cuzco region, he organized unions to defend the rights of the landless against the *hacendados* (big landowners).

Blanco translated the Trotskyist program of mass struggle in accordance with Peruvian conditions. In the winter of 1962 and spring of 1963, the revolutionary peasant unions led by him engaged in large-scale "recuperations" of lands illegally held by the *hacendados*.

The landowners responded with army and police attacks, and in the ensuing battles, several soldiers were killed. Hunted by the military, Blanco was hidden successfully by the peasants from November 1962 until May 30, 1963, when he was captured.

In a book published in 1964, Hugo Neira, a correspondent for the Lima daily *Expreso*, described the peasants' attitude toward Blanco:

"Fought by the right, his image distorted by prestige due to erroneous reports about him being a guerrilla fighter, injured by the silence, if not sabotage, of the traditional, bureaucratic groups of Communism, extolled by the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left], feared and hated by the unorganized *yanaconas* [Indians bound to personal service to the landlords] and the *hacendados*, admired by the union ranks, Hugo Blanco looms over the whole South.

"This is the straight truth, without falsification, of what this man, who is a prisoner today in Arequipa, means to the peasant masses. . . . 'We owe him everything,' say the peasants. In fact every change in Convención and elsewhere in the country was accelerated due to the danger they saw in the peasants having no hope other than hope in the revolutionary unionism of Blanco.

"Devotion to Blanco is total; they don't dare bring him to trial. I am referring to the unionized peasants. 'He is our chief,' they say. . . . And in every peasant's home there is an empty bed. It's the one that was waiting hopefully for the leader when he was going around the region organizing or when he was passing during the night, under the stars, fleeing from the police. . . .

"In the Plaza de Armas in Cuzco, the evening came, dressed in red, flaming. The meeting of the peasants was languishing. The crowd, disciplined, standing, listened, applauded, laughed, or yawned.

"Then a student came forward. . . .



Hugo Blanco

He took the mike and shouted in Quechua:

"'Causachu compañero cuna, Hugo Blanco . . .'

"The crowd awoke and responded with great shouts:

"'Causachu, causachu, causachu.'

"'Long live! Long live! Long live!'

"I saw this repeated throughout the South. No other name arouses greater fervor among the men in striped ponchos who speak the euphonious Quechua. The shadow of Hugo Blanco was present at all the interviews I conducted in the South.

"I am not exaggerating: the unity of this agrarian movement that has no limits, like an immense ocean, whether in ideology or comportment, which can just as well turn peaceful and cooperative as explode in blood and gunfire, has, nevertheless, a name that unites the people of the mountains and the valleys, of the hacienda and the community—Hugo Blanco."

Support for Blanco extended into the urban working class as well, as was demonstrated by a twenty-four-hour general strike demanding his release that paralyzed the city of Cuzco in December 1963.

Hugo Blanco's standing with the new revolutionary generation in Peru can be judged from the following comments by Héctor Béjar in his book *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*:

"... under the influence of the left in some instances and spontaneously in others, the unionization of the peasantry broadened from 1956 up to 1962. The highest point of this great wave, because of the political quality of its leaders, was in the valleys of La Convención and Lares and the most outstanding figure was Hugo Blanco."

Hugo Blanco and twenty-eight other peasant organizers were brought to trial before a military court on August 30, 1966. Prior to the trial, newspapers reported that the prosecutor would ask for a twenty-five-year sentence and that the judges would increase the sentence to death.

But although the trial was held in the tiny, isolated village of Tacna, Blanco's supporters were able to mobilize sufficient public attention to stay the hands of the executioners. The military judges rejected their legal adviser's recommendation of the death penalty and sentenced Hugo Blanco to twenty-five years' confinement in the island prison of El Frontón.

Not content with this savage sentence, Peru's rulers soon made a second attempt to place Hugo Blanco before a firing squad. When his lawyer appealed the sentence to the Supreme Military Court in November, the prosecutor also appealed, asking the court to order Blanco's execution.

For the next eleven months, the revolutionary leader's life hinged on the outcome of the international campaign in his defense. Demonstrations, resolutions, appeals were launched around the world—Japan, France, Canada, the United States, Belgium, England, Scotland, Greece, Italy, Chile, Sweden, West Germany, Nigeria, India, Mexico, Argentina, as well as in Peru.

Blanco received the support of Amnesty International, Jean-Paul Sartre, Bertrand Russell, the Chilean MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], Labour members of parliament in England, the Québec Federation of Labor, the Italian General Confederation of Labor, the Walloon Workers party, and numerous other organizations and individuals.

In New York, nearly 400 participants in the Socialist Scholars Conference signed a petition demanding amnesty.

Shortly thereafter, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners [USLA] was organized. USLA took on an increasingly larger role in the defense of Blanco, and after Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry yielded to the international pressure and permitted the Supreme Military Court to confirm Blanco's original sentence in October 1967, USLA continued the campaign for his release.

YSA telegram to Hugo Blanco

With feelings of deep joy, the Young Socialist Alliance, assembled in New York City for our Tenth National Convention, sends warmest revolutionary greetings to you—for the first time in seven years in freedom. Your release from prison is a victory for the entire world revolutionary movement, for all the peoples of Latin America and for the exploited and oppressed everywhere.

This victory stands as an example to the friends of justice and the forces of social revolution of how it is possible to mobilize pressure against reaction in behalf of freedom for political prisoners. . . .

Heartened by your freedom, we are inspired to redouble our own efforts in the common tasks we share in fighting for the victory of all the oppressed in the world socialist revolution. Venceremos!

In Our Opinion

Calculated deceit

A vicious smear job against *The Militant* and other forces on the left appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* of Jan. 3 in an article by Professor Seymour Lipset entitled "The Socialism of Fools." The thesis of Lipset's calculated and dishonest piece of deception is indicated by the subheadline: "The New Left calls it 'anti-Zionism,' but it's no different from the anti-Semitism of the Old Right." On the title page is a reproduction of the Oct. 2 issue of this paper, with the headline, "NO U.S. TROOPS TO THE MIDEAST!"—an example of "anti-Semitism," in Lipset's twisted mind.

Lipset's central argument—despite his initial admission that "one may oppose Israeli policy or resist Zionism . . . without being anti-Semitic"—is that, in practice, anti-Zionism is equal to anti-Semitism. "The most important expression of anti-Jewish sentiments in the West takes the form of attacks on 'Zionists' and the state of Israel by every section of the left, except the Democratic Socialists," he says. By "Democratic Socialists" Lipset means the moribund, burnt-out "socialists" of yesteryear who compose the Socialist Party and support Israel against the Arab peoples.

The equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism is false to the core.

Anti-Semitism is a form of racism and racial oppression which capitalism inherited from the past and developed in new forms, just as it exacerbates all forms of racism. It was capitalist imperialism in its most acute stage of crisis and decay in Nazi Germany that was responsible for the most murderous orgy of anti-Semitism in history. And it is within decaying capitalism itself that one must look for the roots of the continuation of anti-Semitism. It is capitalism, especially imperialist capitalism in its period of decay, that is responsible for anti-Semitism—not the Arabs who are resisting Zionist oppression. The Arab peoples in general, and the Palestinian Arabs driven out of their homes and into refugee tents by the Zionists in particular, had nothing whatever to do with the holocaust against the Jewish people.

The crimes of Nazi imperialism against the Jews in no way justify oppression of the Arab peoples by the Israeli state.

There are two very real dangers for the Jews of the world when fools like Lipset equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. First, it tends to strengthen anti-Semitism by equating Zionist with Jew, and equating the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Zionism with a struggle against Jews. Second, it raises the false concept in the minds of Jews that the source of anti-Semitism is somehow the Arabs, and that the real enemies of the Jewish people—the rulers of the imperialist countries—are their allies.

Revolutionary socialists have always been opponents* of both anti-Semitism and Zionism. Thus, according to Lipset's twisted mind, we must have always been anti-Semitic, and indeed he intimates this. He implies that Jews have joined the revolutionary-socialist movement out of "self-hatred." Many young people, Jews among them, are joining the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party today to fight against capitalism and all its forms of national oppression, including the Zionist and imperialist oppression of the Arab peoples. We are fighting for the liberation of all peoples and the elimination of the system that created Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

Lipset tries to dismiss the racial oppression of the Arabs by Israel with the stupid comment that "Arabs, being Semites, are as 'white' as Jews." The facts are that Arabs have been oppressed by Western imperialism for over a century; and anti-Arab racism developed in Europe as a rationalization of this oppression. This same anti-Arab racism permeates Zionist thinking and Zionist practice. Israel was founded upon the oppression of the Arabs as a people, i.e. upon racism. Israel is a racist society. Racism manifests itself even with respect to the "darker" Jews of non-European origin.

What both Lipset and *The New York Times* fear is that growing numbers of Americans, especially young people, are beginning to understand the real situation in the Middle East. There is increasing opposition to any "new Vietnam" in the Middle East. This was one reason they singled out *The Militant* headline demanding "NO U.S. TROOPS TO THE MIDEAST!" as an example of "anti-Semitism." That's why they put together and ran this crude, dishonest article.

For our part, we will continue to print the truth about the Middle East and to organize opposition to the policies of both Tel Aviv and Washington.

Letters

Greatly improved

Today is Christmas Day and we have just finished reading *The Militant*. Marvel Scholl and Frank Lovell's articles were right on.

The Militant, with its new format, increased coverage, and greatly improved overall appearance, is indeed a wonderful sight to behold. In the midst of such division, confusion and outright vicious antagonism, it is a real treat to have a place of sanity and peace to rest in. We are including a small contribution in cash for the *Militant* fund.

Our wish for today is for the increasing progress and success for the SWP, YSA and *The Militant*.
Mr. & Mrs. A. J. A.
Napa, Calif.

High quality

I have been a devoted reader of *The Militant* for over one-half year now, and not once have I been disappointed. At first impressed by the high quality of the paper, I gradually come to expect it as innate.

With all the admiration I've had for *The Militant* of the past, however, the latest issue, Dec. 25, again astounded me. The special article by the late Leon Trotsky was fantastic and the new format is very pleasing. You have done me personally a great service by publishing this paper, and I'm sure others.
A. B.
Baltimore, Md.

New format

Congratulations! The new *Militant* looks fine. I am so glad you have changed page two. I think the title "In Brief" is unnecessarily large and cheapens the appearance of the page, however. There is no reason for such startling print. It makes the next page seem less important.

I think your editorial page looks good and is in the right place. How much better it is to have the letters on this page, and how much more relevant.

Best of luck and keep making a better paper.

A. W.
Stamford, Conn.

Revolutionary slides

The Fifth of June Society has prepared a set of 70 full-frame black and white slides on the Palestinian revolution, including the Israeli occupation, the growth of the resistance movement, and scenes of the September 1970 clashes in Jordan. The slides are numbered and accompanied by an explanatory commentary in English.

Half-hour tapes of Palestinian songs, with commentary in English, are also available.

Cost of the slide set is \$12.50, tape and commentary, \$7.50. Prices include air mail postage anywhere.
Fifth of June Society
P. O. Box 7037
Beirut, Lebanon

Appreciates support

Your article on the women's liberation conference held in Saskatoon (*Militant*, Dec. 4) was great. Thanks for your support.

Linda Blackwood
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Expanded coverage

The new, 24-page *Militant* [Dec. 25] arrived a couple of days ago. It looks very good, new and different. The first thing that impressed me was the coverage which took in almost all fields in which political events of importance are taking place. I was particularly glad to see a number of articles dealing with various aspects of Stalinism.

You seem to be moving toward departmentalization in the paper. It is fitting and proper for a paper to be so subdivided after it reaches a certain size. I like this idea: special sections, larger or smaller as the news dictates, devoted to the anti-war movement, women's liberation, Black struggle, editorial page, etc. This alone gives the paper a new dimension, one of size and growth.

I suggest that a special department be used for student developments, from time to time if not as a regular feature. Another thing you can consider, if you have not already done so, is this: with the additional four pages, you can plan in advance to run a special issue with emphasis on one particular topic which would be dealt with more extensively than you would ordinarily. This could be advertised in advance and something about it put on the front page.

Ivan's cartoon on the front page is excellent. All in all, you are off to a fine start.

Milton Alvin
Los Angeles, Calif.

Leap forward

With the Christmas issue, *The Militant* made a qualitative leap forward. The extra four pages means a greatly improved format and more full-length features. Even the most skeptical will now be forced to admit that *The Militant* is clearly the finest newspaper on the left today.

Readers considering the one-year sub should remember that an extra 200 pages have just been added to the already sweet offer, and that the future bodes even more.

Martin Rothman
Los Angeles, Calif.

Reply to radical Zionist

In his letter to the editor (*Militant*, Dec. 25) P. C. (Oberlin Radical Jewish Movement) displayed an unusual sense of ignorance of both the Palestine revolution and the Zionist movement.

Let me begin by saying that the Palestinians were displaced from Palestine not by a national liberation movement, as P. C. describes Zionism, but by an imperialist ideology supported by European imperialism and which was meant to serve precisely those interests. This mission is amply clear in

The Great Society

Herzl's original writings (*The Jewish State* and *Herzl's Complete Diaries*) and in subsequent actions by the Zionist settlers against the indigenous Arabs.

The Zionist movement as a political force was never a national liberation movement; Herzl did not carry on a war of liberation in Europe on behalf of the oppressed Jew. He opted for an easy way out: to take his "Jewish Problem" somewhere else. By doing so, Herzl not only did not solve the "Jewish Problem," he instead contributed to the creation of a new Palestinian problem. Zionism failed to force the European oppressor to cleanse himself through a reassertion of the humanness of the Jew. Zionism instead established itself as an extension of European oppression in Palestine. It is this abnormality in human relations that the Palestinian revolution has set out to eradicate.

The other point I would like to make is that the Palestine revolution will never accept half-solutions. The creation of a miniscule Palestinian state, an Arab Basutoland, is a half-solution, at best. Suggestions for the creation of such an "entity" have been recently voiced by American, Israeli and Arab reactionaries, only after the conspiracy to crush the Palestine revolution has failed.

The Palestinians are bent on liberating Palestine, the whole of Palestine, from such abnormalities as racism, anti-Semitism, exploitation, and religious bigotry. It is only then that an open society can be established in which Jews and Arabs can live freely, and it is this open society that the Palestinian man, as man and not as Jew or as an Arab, can reassert his humanness and optimize his creativity.

E. A. N.

Emmitsburg, Md.

Getts, Novack . . .

I was especially interested in your Dec. 18 issue because of the letter from Ruth Getts of Portland, Ore., concerning the hypocritical attitude of people concerning bombing and violence in this country as opposed to the destruction of property and lives in Vietnam.

George Novack's article about his experiences in the Socialist Party reminded me of my own in the 30s when I first became interested in socialism. I didn't backslide, just held my fire till the working people of this country recovered from their free-enterprise daze. The work of A.J. Muste was brought to my attention at that time by a cousin in Grand Rapids, Mich.

People seem to be waking up now, while at the same time it is nearly appropriate for me to fade from the scene (at age 79).

Best wishes for your future development.

C. W.

Clearwater, Fla.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Supersnooper speaks — According to the **San Antonio Express**, Dec. 8, J. Edgar Hoover said in a recent magazine interview that he's not worried about the president being shot by a Mexican or Puerto Rican, because they "don't shoot very straight." But, he added, "if they come at you with a knife, look out." Especially if your reflexes are governed by a scrambled, racist brain.

Reverse withdrawal plan — Sixth grade students at John Hay Elementary School in Minneapolis were polled on what they would do if president for a day. Responded one: "I would stop the war and get Nixon out of the U. S."

From hard work and thrift, obviously — The executor of the estate of Paul Powell, recently deceased Illinois secretary of state, is puzzled by the \$800,000 found stuffed in shoe boxes, etc., in the late Democratic chieftain's apartment. "I have tried as hard as I can to find out where the money came from," he said.

Law of supply and demand — To curb the population, members of the Massachusetts legislature are proposing a study of the possibility of requiring a couple to secure a license to have a child. License fees would be set "at a price determined in a free market, with such exceptions as necessary to make the system equitable."

Encore — Pollution in the Sea of Galilee is so thick that it may soon be possible for someone to repeat the accomplishment of Jesus, who reportedly walked on the water there.

Status dep't — To cope with the recent New York taxi strike, Cartier offered potential diamond buyers a free ride in the store president's limousine. Sniffed Tiffany's, "Our customers come in their own limousines." Which somehow reminded us of the oldie about the Yale and Harvard grads in the men's room. At the washbasin, the Yale grad commented pointedly, "We

Yale men always wash our hands after urinating." Responded Harvard: "We Harvard men don't urinate on our hands."

March of science — Toupee companies will weave a clump of synthetic hair onto the remnants of a man's hair for a mere \$1,250. But a new, more durable process permits a surgeon to sew thin wire loops into your skull to which a wash-and-wear wig is attached.

Right on, Spiro! — The veep, while taking a dim view, assesses the new youth culture rather well: "The competitive, ambitious, aggressive side of our outlook is under attack: The businessman's drive for profit is labeled money-grubbing, the politician's joust with his opponent is branded as vicious and divisive, the military commander's desire for victory is mocked as jingoistic heroics."

— HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

High School and junior high school women in San Francisco are learning self defense in their physical education classes. Viola Mails, supervisor of physical education for San Francisco's public schools, attributes the new classes in self-defense to the influence of women's liberation on the high schools.

"We had teachers and students asking for it, so it is being introduced," she told the **San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle**. "It think it is very important that girls know the basic elements of how to protect themselves."

The January 1971 issue of Atlas, a magazine which carries selections from articles in the world press, reports:

"A British pharmaceutical firm has found a way to produce, artificially, cheaply, and in volume, the hormone that induces abortion. If tests now beginning are successful, a woman would be able to use this privately and safely. Abortion laws, whether imposed by Church or State, would become unenforceable."

This information only confirms what the women's liberation movement has been saying: that if the U. S. government would allocate the necessary resources, it would be a simple matter to discover and make available safe, cheap means whereby women could control their own bodies. But the U. S. government prefers to ignore the needs of women and instead to spend billions of dollars on destruction in Southeast Asia.

The conservatism of the Socialist Party has been revealed once more by the position they have taken concerning women's liberation. The New York SP held a public forum Dec. 11 on the nature of the women's liberation movement, which was attended by 300 people. The position expressed at the forum by SP member Midge Decter was reported in the Dec. 21 issue of the Socialist Party's newspaper **New America**:

"American middle-class women are freer than any large group of women have been in Western history, and yet it is from this class that we hear of the brutal oppression of women by men. The protest springs not from oppression, it arises from a desire to evade the responsibility that freedom entails. Women's lib allows some women to blame men for their own inadequacies."

One of the contradictions underlying the rise of the wom-

en's liberation movement has been the growing gap between the level of education that women are receiving and a small number of jobs open to them where they can use their talents and education.

In early December, the U. S. Department of Labor warned that this contradiction will be even sharper in the 1970s. The Labor Department report said: "The increasing participation of women in the labor force and the narrow range of professions in which the majority of them seek employment are at the heart of the women workers' problems." The report predicted a tremendous increase in women college graduates in the 1970s, along with a sharp decline in teaching jobs, which have traditionally absorbed two out of every five women college graduates. It noted that women continue to be absent from such fields as medicine, law, engineering, and science.

Feminists in Pittsburgh have formed a nonprofit organization called KNOW, INC., which hopes to "obtain, reprint, and disseminate information about the women's movement and especially about women's and men's changing roles." If you send them a stamped, self-addressed envelope, they will send you three free lists: Reporters You Can Trust, Publications of the Women's Movement, and a price list of Articles on Women's Role. They have also announced publication of a female studies syllabus, with reading lists in the social sciences, for \$2.00.

Address: KNOW, INC., P.O. Box 10197, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15232.

A new bimonthly magazine, the **Women's Rights Law Reporter**, has been launched. It will be the first publication to deal in depth with the changing legal position of women. According to a notice announcing the first issue, the magazine will cover such areas as "education, employment, health care, child care, domestic relations, abortion, sexual freedoms, certain civil rights and liberties, the special problems of being female and poor or female and a member of some other disfavored group, criminal law, and constitutional law."

To receive a copy of the first issue, send one dollar to Women's Rights Law Reporter, 180 University Ave., Newark, New Jersey, 07102.

— CAROLINE LUND

Soviet hijacking and anti-Semitism

(From Intercontinental Press)

Harsh sentences meted out to eleven Soviet citizens—nine of them Jews—accused of plotting to hijack an airplane, have aroused fears of a new anti-Semitic campaign in the Soviet Union. Worldwide protest resulted in the two death sentences being commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment December 31, but this fact in itself will do little to relieve those fears.

The eleven were accused of "treason," which in Soviet law includes attempting to emigrate without the permission of the ruling bureaucrats. They were arrested June 15 at a Leningrad airport along with a military officer, who is expected to be tried later by court-martial.

In the next two days, an additional forty-seven persons were arrested in Leningrad and other parts of the country. Forty-four of them were Jews. The *Washington Post* reported December 25 that three more trials are expected—in Leningrad, Riga, and Kishinev.

All the defendants in the trial, which

opened December 15 in Leningrad, were reported to have pleaded guilty. Bernard Gwertzman said in the December 28 *New York Times*: "The Jews in the group had sought without success to get permission to emigrate to Israel and in their final statements most of them reaffirmed their desire to leave."

If these reports are correct, then of course it is accurate to describe the nine as Zionists in the sense that they believe in the Zionist utopia of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This is quite different, however, from being hired agents of imperialism, which is how some sources have pictured them.

The *New York Daily World*, which reflects the views of the U.S. Communist party, said in a December 29 editorial that the hijacking plan was part of "a widespread plot whose direction came from outside the Soviet Union." Without citing any source for its "information," the paper went on to give details of the alleged plot:

"It began in 1969, months before

the arrests in June 1970. The operating center was undoubtedly Tel Aviv, with the main plans 'Made in U.S.A.' and financed out of the CIA's \$3 billion budget.

"The 11 were recruited by Tel Aviv and the CIA not to fulfill their alleged yearnings for Israel, but as cannon fodder in the war against the Soviet Union and socialism."

As "proof" of its charges, the *Daily World* cited the fact that in Washington, D.C., demonstrators protesting the trial had burned a Soviet flag!

This sort of crude amalgam is nothing new coming from the Stalinized American Communist party. Had it gone no further than the pages of the *Daily World*, there would be little reason to comment upon it. But TASS, the Soviet news agency, saw fit to reprint the substance of the editorial, thus warning all Soviet Jews who might express a desire to emigrate that they risk being accused of working for American imperialism. The warning, moreover, applies not only to those Jews who might be termed

Zionists in the strict sense mentioned above, but to those who merely want to preserve their national rights and culture.

Why, fifty-three years after the triumph of the October revolution, should the Soviet government find it necessary to place legal obstacles in the way of an entire nation emigrating unless that nation feels that its autonomous development has been made impossible within the borders of the Soviet Union? The Leningrad trial thus points to past anti-Semitism on the part of the Soviet bureaucrats as well as providing one more example of their current anti-Semitic policies.

Anti-Semitism is not practiced by the bureaucracy for its own sake, but for definite political ends. Moscow's hard line in regard to the Soviet Jews is part of a general attitude toward all minority nationalities. The Crimean Tartars, still fighting to return to their homes twenty-five years after Stalin ordered their exile, were, in effect, being told to pay special attention to the trial in Leningrad.

OKINAWANS ATTEMPT TO STORM U.S. AIR BASE

Expressing years of hatred for U.S. occupation of their island, some 3,000 Okinawans attempted to storm the U.S. military base at Naha, Okinawa, early in the morning of Dec. 20.

The protest began at 1 a.m., "when a car driven by an American serviceman struck and injured an Okinawan outside the air base," UPI reported.

According to AP, the Okinawans "hurled gasoline bombs, empty bottles and stones at United States military personnel and Okinawan policemen and damaged 60 American vehicles. . . .

"Police sources said 16 Okinawans and a number of American servicemen had been injured. About 800 U.S. troops and military policemen fired warning shots and scores of tear gas shells to disperse the rioters. They arrested at least 50 Okinawans during the four-hour outburst."

At Misato, the previous day, about 2,600 Okinawans participated in a demonstration demanding immediate and complete withdrawal of U.S. nerve gas stored on the island. Washington has stated its intentions of re-

moving the nerve gas, but has not announced satisfactory safety guarantees for transmittal, the Okinawan demonstrators said.

The U.S. military complex on Okinawa constitutes the largest air base in the world. It is presently a key link of U.S. imperialism's global police network.

In addition to stockpiling nerve gases and other forms of chemical warfare, the Pentagon also maintains nuclear-armed "Strategic Air Com-

mand" bombers at Okinawa. The base is a staging area for the B-52 flights that daily and nightly pound Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

All of these factors, on top of the typical racist and chauvinist attitudes and policies of the foreign occupiers, have given birth to a militant anti-U.S. movement in Okinawa. Partially to head off this movement, President Nixon signed an agreement with Japanese Premier Sato in 1969 to award the Ryukyu Islands, including Okinawa, to Japan in 1972.

Pentagon scrambles to cover up snooping

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK—Defense Secretary Melvin Laird announced Dec. 23 his intention to bring domestic military spying on civilians under his direct personal control. "These activities must be conducted in a manner which recognizes and preserves individual human rights," he piously stated in reference to practices whose very nature violates those rights.

Laird's new policy amounts to what is known in bureaucratic circles as an "in-house review." Such "self-policing" will not impress many outside the military.

Nor is Laird's double-talk apt to succeed in squelching the mounting public outcry against the Big Brother activities of government and military agencies. The *New York Times*, in a Dec. 26 editorial, called it "another unconvincing chapter in a now familiar script" leading from official denials to official but hypocritical apologies and promises to rectify past excesses. "The issue is not whether the proceeds of military snooping will eventually be under the control of a civilian secretary," it said, "Rather the issue is whether the armed forces, under anyone's control, ought be allowed to usurp investigatory powers over the personal or political activities of the nation's citizens and institutions."

Laird was prompted to comment on military snooping on civilians in the first place by charges raised Dec. 16 by Sen. Sam Ervin that Army intelligence agents had been spying on 800 Illinois political figures, including Rep. Abner Mikva, Sen. Adlai Stevenson III and former governor Otto Kerner. Ervin, whose Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights plans to hold public hearings on such practices next month, gave as his source John M. O'Brien, an ex-agent involved in the Illinois operation.

On Dec. 17, Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor denied the charges. Two days later Army officials merely pooh-poohed criticism, claiming its spying on civilians was only a minor part of a worldwide operation. On Dec. 23, Laird acknowledged that the Army had been caught in the constitutional cookie jar and promised it wouldn't happen again.

President Nixon also got into the act, asserting that the White House "totally, completely and unequivocally" objected to military spying on civilians and would not tolerate it. Yet last April 12, the *New York Times* reported in a front-page story obviously leaked by government officials that the Nixon administration intended to step up its spying on left-wing groups and individuals "in an effort to prevent violence." The paper's in-

formants placed direct responsibility for the decision to increase surveillance with Nixon himself, who was said to be "disturbed by the rash of bombings and bomb scares, courtroom disruptions, and reports of small but growing numbers of young people who feel alienated from the American system."

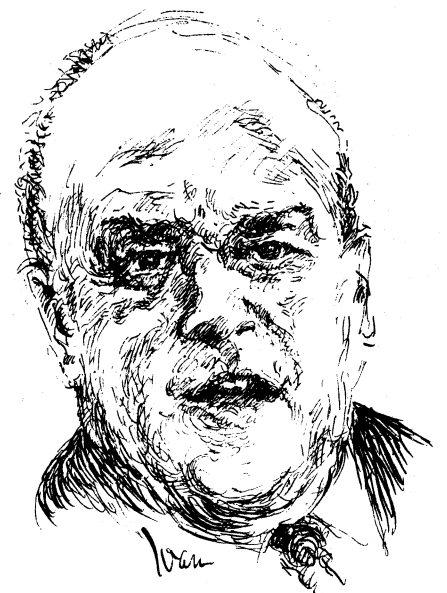
This administration (like every one preceding it for more than 50 years) has been regularly spying on progressive and radical organizations. This is nothing new. Until recently, critics like Sen. Ervin, who oppose the forms and extent of such snooping, have even been largely ignored by their colleagues.

Only the discovery by senators and congressmen that they themselves might be the object of these cloak-and-dagger activities was apparently enough to prompt their present concern.

Revolutionaries have been fighting against such police-state measures and encroachments upon their civil liberties for decades. But it is precisely a fear of growing radicalization that underlies the current widespread spying on the American people. The primary purpose is to intimidate the mass movements against the Vietnam war, for Third World liberation, and for women's liberation.

These measures are calculated to strike fear and shrivel confidence, but they represent a basically defensive response by the capitalist government to a movement that it sees as a growing threat.

The public outcry at the latest revelations about the extent of this surveillance shows that with the relationship of forces changing in favor of radicalization, current efforts to maintain and extend the network of snoopers are more apt than not to backfire.



Melvin Laird

ROOTS OF MIDEAST CONFLICT

ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH QUESTION

By GUS HOROWITZ
and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Sixth of a series)

One of the key aspects of the Palestinian liberation struggle is its attitude towards the Israeli Jews. In the past, some demagogic spokesmen for various Arab regimes or for the Palestinian cause, who were themselves opponents of a revolutionary policy, have talked of wholesale massacres against the Israeli Jews or of driving them into the sea.

The major Palestinian resistance organizations, however, have stated explicitly that their enemy is not the Jewish people, but the Israeli state, whose creation has deprived them of their national rights. They have stated the goal they are fighting for to be a democratic Palestine in which full civil rights would be enjoyed by both the presently dispossessed Palestinian Arabs and the present Jewish inhabitants of Israel.

Revolutionary socialists support this goal of a democratic Palestine, which is in keeping with one of the basic goals of socialism—to end the oppression of one people by another.

The future of the Israeli Jews is a question of great concern, not only to Jews throughout the world, but to everyone who has felt revulsion at the oppression of the Jewish people throughout the centuries, an oppression that has put the words "pogrom" and "ghetto" into the vocabulary of many languages today. Of course, the most horrible example of anti-Semitism in practice was the murder of six million Jews by the Nazis during World War II. After this experience, the very question of survival, in addition to the other forms of anti-Semitic oppression, is still a key question to the Jewish people.

Revolutionary socialists have always fought against all forms of anti-Semitic racism and are fighting to eradicate the capitalist system, which is the basic source and perpetuator of anti-Semitism in the modern era. We have always explained to the Jewish people that Zionism led not only to the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs but also led the Jewish people into the trap of dependence on the imperialist powers, who are their real enemies.

No secure refuge

Although the Zionists maintain that the creation of Israel was necessary to provide a safe place of refuge for world Jewry, this has not proved to be the case. Israel has not succeeded in making the situation of Jews in the world any more secure.

In fact, the creation of the Israeli state, which is by its very nature hostile to the surrounding Arab peoples and is therefore on a perpetual war footing with regard to the Arab states and people, makes Israel today the most dangerous place in the world for the Jews to be. This dangerous situation will persist until the mass of Israeli Jews break with Zionism and join with the Arab masses in a common struggle against imperialist domination of the Middle East.

Nor has the creation of the Israeli state undercut the basis for anti-Semitism, as some Zionists had projected that it would.

Anti-Semitism is still strong in all the Western imperialist nations, including the United States, and the rise of a new Hitler-type fascism is not excluded in any of them. The Zionists, however, call upon Jews to gamble with their future by being ultimately dependent on the perpetuation of the status quo in these same imperialist nations.

In the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the Arab states, racist demagogues have inexcusably equated Zionism with the Jewish people and have pointed to Israel's reactionary role in the Mideast to try to justify anti-Semitic actions against the Jewish people of their own countries. Thus they echo the Zionist theme that to be a Jew is to be a Zionist. In this situation, the only alternative that the Zionists project is the demand for increased Jewish immigration to Israel. This is a totally ineffective means of combating anti-Semitism in these countries, where it will be seen by the masses as a maneuver to strengthen the Israeli state and imperialism in the Mideast.

Finally, the future that Zionism offers the Israeli Jews is also bleak on the domestic front. The Israeli state, intrinsically hostile to the aspirations of the Arab peoples of the Mideast, is being driven by the logic of its position to institute increasingly repressive and reactionary measures at home. The growth of the isolated fortress state has as its corollary the erosion of domestic civil liberties. Measures first directed against the Arabs in Israel will then be used against those Jews who rebel. (The example of South Africa is worth noting in this regard.) The all-pervasive militarism, racism and clericalism will probably intensify.

Moreover, the relatively high standard of living in Is-

rael is based on an economically weak foundation which can crumble rapidly, a situation in which the working class would bear the burden. From a long-range point of view, the present Zionist setup can not survive as it is and is not in the interests of the Israeli Jews.

Revolutionary perspective

In contrast to the dangerous policy of the Zionists, which leads the Jewish people into a blind alley, Marxists put forward a revolutionary perspective for ending anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews, a perspective which offers the only realistic long-term solution to these injustices.

In the advanced imperialist countries, this means a socialist revolution, which will end all forms of racism and national oppression and which will eliminate the social system in which anti-Semitism flourishes and which breeds fascism.

In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, a political revolution is called for to overthrow the entrenched bureaucratic layers who perpetuate the backward anti-Semitic policies of the previous capitalist era. What is needed is to reinstitute the norms of Leninism. After the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks declared an uncompromising war on the anti-Semitic policies of the czarist era in Russia.

What about the Jews in the Arab world, in particular the Israeli Jews? Despite the methods by which the Israeli state was created, and despite the reactionary role that Israel plays in the Mideast, the masses of Israeli Jews have the right to look forward to a just future in Palestine. Marxists never hold the masses of any people to blame for the crimes that their leaders may perpetrate in their name.

For the Israeli Jewish masses, the key to their future lies in breaking with the reactionary politics of Zionism and in fighting alongside the Palestinian Arab masses for the goal of a democratic Palestine. The logic of this struggle, as it is carried through to the end, will be the destruction of the imperialist stranglehold on the Middle East and the creation of workers states. One of the major factors in this development will be the recognition that the democratic goals of the Palestinian liberation struggle are also in the best long-term interests of the Israeli Jews.

Palestinian liberation

Within Israel, Zionist propaganda, utilizing the great lie technique, has up to now been effective in portraying the Palestinian liberation movement as analogous to Hitlerism, stating that its goal is to persecute, exterminate or drive all Israeli Jews into exile.

Not only is this analogy false in regard to the stated program of the Palestinian organizations, it is even more false in regard to the basic dynamics of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Nazism represented the most barbaric and reactionary form of imperialist rule. It came into being during a period of deep crisis for German capitalism. Its goal was to crush the German working class and all other progressive movements in that country, to exacerbate all forms of racial, religious, national, and sexist oppression, and to institute totalitarian control over all phases of political life in preparation for the second imperialist war.

The Palestinian liberation movement stems from a fundamentally different source. It is a movement of an oppressed people who want to end their oppression, not to oppress others. Like all other sectors of the colonial revolution, it is directed against imperialism, the system which is at bottom today responsible for perpetrating the oppression of one people by another.

History has shown that the basic dynamic of the colonial revolution is toward human liberation, not revenge against the former oppressor nation. In this regard, the Palestinian people are no different from the masses of people in other parts of the colonial world. To state otherwise is not only false but is a racist slander as well.

It is also false to think that the mass of Israeli Jews are so wedded to Zionism that they cannot change. White racism is certainly as deeply rooted among white workers in the United States as Zionist racism is among Israeli Jews. But Marxists are confident that the majority of white workers in the United States can be won over to support the goals of the Black liberation struggle. The same is true of the majority of Israeli Jews, who can be won over to support the democratic goals of the Palestinian liberation struggle. For, in the deepest sense of the term, the Israeli Jews cannot be free until the Palestinian Arabs are.

(To be continued)



'The growth of the isolated fortress state has as its corollary the erosion of domestic civil liberties. Measures first directed against the Arabs in Israel will then be used against those Jews who rebel.'



Los Angeles, Oct. 31, 1970

Photo by John Gray

NPAC coordinators discuss the issue of antiwar unity

The Convention of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), which met in Chicago this past Dec. 4-6, rejected a proposal that it not set a date for a national spring demonstration against the Vietnam war.

The no-date proposal was made to the NPAC coordinators by a delegation from the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR), which came to Chicago to press the idea that if no date were set it would enhance the prospect for a united demonstration. The NPAC coordinators responded—and the convention participants agreed—that not setting a date would only weaken the projected spring antiwar offensive and, consequently, also weaken the prospects for an urgently needed unity around that offensive.

This position was explained by the NPAC coordinators in a letter to Kay Camp, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Copies of the letter, which is printed below, were sent to various individuals and to the radical press.

Dear Kay,

We're awfully sorry you were unable to attend the national antiwar convention in Chicago this past weekend. By all standards, the convention was a great success. It was attended by nearly 1,500 people, including representatives from 29 states, 34 labor unions, and 150 colleges. The major decisions were: 1) national antiwar demonstrations to be held in Washington and San Francisco on April 24; 2) commemoration of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, to be held on April 3-4 with appropriate activities to be organized locally.

Enclosed are copies of the NPAC coordinators' action and organizational resolutions, both of which were adopted by overwhelming majority votes. Setting the April 24 date for the Washington-San Francisco demonstrations did provoke some controversy, and we wanted to explain to you exactly what happened.

Sid Lens [a member of NCAWRR and of the NPAC steering committee] attended the convention and introduced a resolution calling for King commemorations on April 3-4 and for national demonstrations on May 1 or 8. Enclosed is a copy of his resolution, which he said he was submitting on behalf of the leaders of his coalition.

The NPAC coordinators were extremely anxious to unify the antiwar movement and to have joint actions for the spring. Our resolution initially called for the Washington demonstration to be held on April 17. It did not contain the April 3-4 pro-

posal. We undertook to meet with Lens and other leaders of his coalition to see if we could agree on a single program.

The first thing we tried to determine was whether the two coalitions had the same basic idea regarding the purpose and character of the projected demonstrations. We quickly came to agreement on the King commemoration and the coordinators' resolution was amended accordingly. This is a big plus for the antiwar movement. It means the basis now exists for united activity in cities throughout the country on April 3-4.

The national action proposed by the Lens group for May 1 or May 8 raised serious problems. The first of these had to do with the demand of the demonstrations, which we felt had to be for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Indochina. The other group saw the "Peace Treaty" [between the Vietnamese and North American people] as prominent and spoke of a demand on Nixon to "fix the date" for withdrawal. We argued that this was a retreat from a basic principle of the movement and could not be reconciled with the demand for immediate withdrawal. While our discussion produced no definite agreement, the Lens group did indicate their agreement with immediate withdrawal as the central demand. At the same time, they felt the "fix the date" demand had a place and that any differences on the matter could be resolved in future negotiations.

A second question involved the character of the projected demonstration. As you probably know, Rennie Davis has already received wide national publicity for his plan to disrupt Washington, D. C., on May 1 by abandoning cars in the downtown area. Such schemes as this alienate trade unionists and others and preclude our involving them in demonstrations against the war. We wanted it to be massive, peaceful, orderly, nonviolent, and non-confrontational. They agreed with this except they wanted provision made for civil disobedience. A tentative agreement was reached whereby our concept was accepted for the united action while they would be free to organize other activities, including civil disobedience, at a different time and place.

A third question involved organization. Lens' resolution called for amalgamation of the two coalitions. (He previously told us he favors a reconstituted New Mobe [New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam] as the amalgam.) We said this was a matter for negotiations; that we would have no hesitation in dismantling NPAC to build a broader coalition (for example, at the behest of important sections of the labor movement); but that we had strong reservations

about returning to the New Mobe setup. Our hesitations stem from the range of New Mobe activities in 1970, when it implemented actions of a confrontational nature which alienated large numbers of formerly sympathetic people. Nor do we have any interest in returning to a setup with its disproportionate representation from the confrontational point of view, with its total lack of democracy, and with its lack of a realistic perspective for winning the ranks of labor. Another possibility was for the two coalitions to continue and to co-exist, jointly sponsoring the spring actions. Of course, we made clear, as we have since the inception of NPAC, that all groups are welcome in our coalition and that it could be restructured to accommodate new groupings that are prepared to join it.

The final question was the date. We favored April 17, the other coalition May 8. (They told us the May 1 date had been dropped because many people objected to it.) We argued that the April date was better because 1) it would be easier for students to participate and 2) there would be a more favorable climate for building a large demonstration if it occurred before rather than after the projected disruption of Washington. The answer given us was that people were already in motion around the May date and that it could not be changed. Finally, although we felt there had been no clear resolution of any of the questions described above and although we were less enthusiastic about the May date, we offered to accept the May 8 date in the interest of having a unified action.

To our great astonishment, the other group said no, the convention should not set any date! Even though the Lens resolution specifically mentioned a date ("May 1 or May 8," as you can see for yourself), we were asked to leave the date up in the air for an unstated period, pending negotiations with people some of whom were not at the convention and whose views were not known to the people attending the convention. As an alternative, it was suggested that we put a date in our resolution, whether April or May and add qualifying language to make the date tentative. The Lens group emphasized they had no authority to agree on a date, that they had to consult with others.

After a lot of soul searching, we decided that we could not agree to the proposal to leave the date open. (We did change the April 17 date to April 24, because April 17 was too close to the April 3-4 activities.) The reasons are as follows:

1. The antiwar movement must move *now* to counter Nixon's escalation of the war. All of our experience proves that the movement is most effective when it has a date to focus on. We simply could not see the convention calling for a national antiwar demonstration—without a definite date! Not to set a date would paralyze our activities for a period of at least a month. Setting a date and calling it "tentative" is tantamount to setting no date at all.

2. The proposal did not mesh with our idea of democracy within the antiwar movement. How do you invite 1,500 people to a national gathering of the antiwar movement to decide a future course for the movement and then urge them to delegate to others (some known and some unknown) the power to decide important questions which the 1,500 people thought they were to decide? What happens if the negotiations on the major political questions discussed above are not productive and what if agreement is not reached? Who decides what, if not the people convened at an open, all-inclusive, and democratic convention? After all, Kay, as you know, we did our utmost to get *everyone* to the convention, including people whose views differ widely from our own. Anyone could have come to the convention, could have brought anyone he or she wanted, and could have proposed any resolution. The question posed for us was: should people who did not come to the convention be given a veto power over people who did come? We felt they should not.

3. Our setting the April 24 date can and should provide a basis for a united action by the entire antiwar movement this spring. Both coalitions agree that it is unthinkable that the movement would sponsor two separate actions in Washington within the space of a few weeks. It would be the height of irresponsibility not to unite now to build a single and truly massive demonstration. April 24 is now in the works, has already been publicized, and will be publicized much more in the weeks ahead. It is our fervent hope that everyone in the antiwar movement will endorse the action and will join in helping to assure its success. We

continued on page 22

Fast-growing YSA ready for new student battles

By CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK—The Tenth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held here Dec. 27-31, demonstrated that the YSA is developing into a major pole of attraction for revolutionary-minded youth in this country. During the five-day convention, the 1,220 registered delegates and observers from 34 states contributed their ideas and experiences to the hammering out of political perspectives for the YSA in the coming year.

One of the most striking features of the convention was the clear understanding expressed by delegates as they discussed the revolutionary nature of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American nationalism and the revolutionary nature of feminism and the women's liberation movement. Many of the delegates spoke from the position of deep involvement in these movements.

Equally important was the analysis made by the delegates of the revolutionary dynamics of the student movement and the centrality of the struggle against the war in Southeast Asia. The convention refuted commentators who have described the student movement as "dead," or "dying." Delegates reiterated that none of the contradictions which led to the rise of the student movement—most importantly the Vietnam war—have been eliminated, and vowed to prepare the YSA and the antiwar movement for student protests even greater than those of last May which answered Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

The emphasis given to the struggle against the Vietnam war was just one indication of the internationalist character of the YSA. The convention opened with an international report by outgoing national chairwoman Susan LaMont, who began by announcing that Hugo Blanco, the revolutionary Peruvian peasant leader, had been released from prison after having served nearly eight years in Peruvian prisons for his leadership of a peasant land-occupation movement in the early 1960s. The

convention responded with thunderous applause and a standing ovation.

LaMont projected the continuation of internationalist activities that the YSA has consistently carried out in the past—building the movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, building support for the Cuban revolution, getting out the truth about the Arab revolution and mobilizing against any U.S. intervention in the Middle East, building support for the Quebec nationalist movement, and participating in the defense of political prisoners in Latin America.

She pointed out that struggles of oppressed nationalities around the world are becoming increasingly important and explosive, such as Basque nationalism, Irish nationalism, Quebec nationalism, and Palestinian nationalism. The women's liberation movement, too, is fast becoming international in scope, she noted.

The growth of the Fourth International was indicated by the greetings presented to the convention by revolutionaries from New Zealand, France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, and Canada. Greetings were also read from the chief of staff of the Irish Republican Army and given in person by Paddy Garland of the Irish Republican Movement.

Political perspectives

The political report presented to the convention was based on a general political resolution drafted by the National Executive Committee of the YSA and discussed by YSA chapters prior to the convention. This resolution and report analyzed the major political developments relating to radical youth in the last year and proposed a set of tasks and priorities for the YSA in the coming year.

The report was given by Frank Boehm, who was later elected the new national chairman of the YSA. He began by analyzing the roots of the

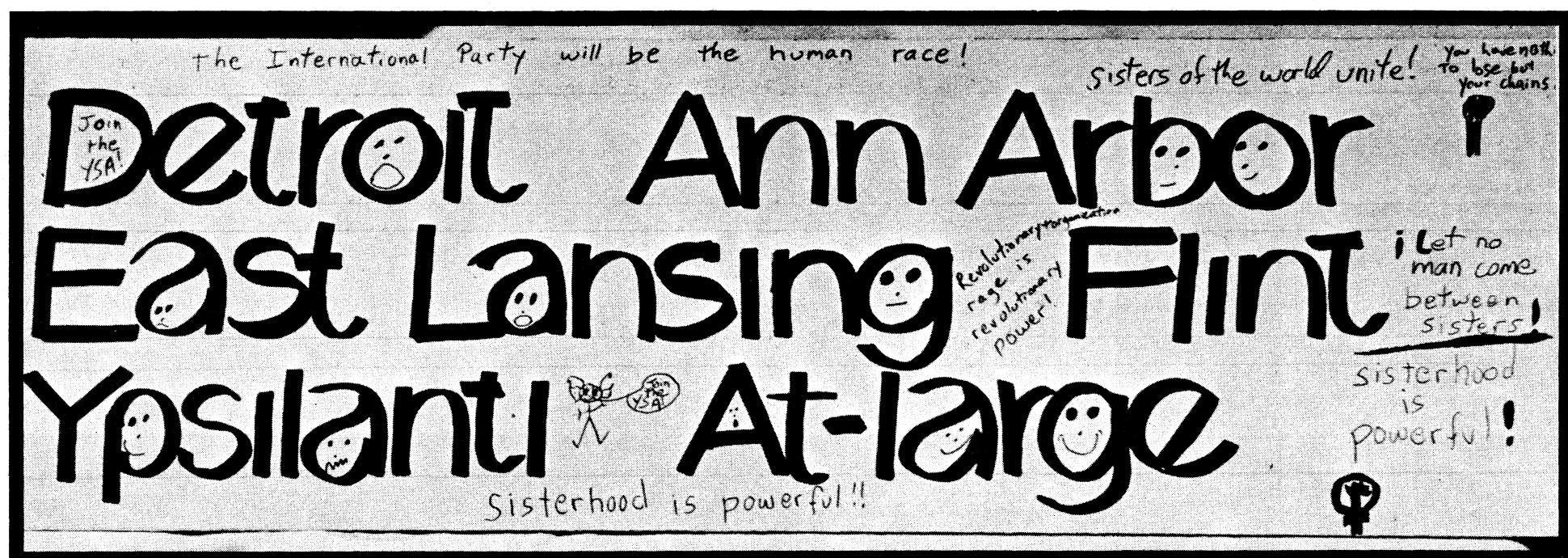
current youth radicalization and the reflection of this radicalization in the growth of the YSA. He compared the steady growth of the YSA with the disintegration of SDS, noting that the YSA, in contrast to SDS and virtually all other radical youth organizations, had related in a principled, revolutionary manner to the major political events of the past 10 years: by building a mass movement for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam; by building a mass student movement that can link up with struggles of women, oppressed nationalities and workers; by giving full support to the rise of Black nationalism; and by categorically refusing to support any kind of capitalist politician.

Boehm recalled the major new developments that occurred in 1970: the May upsurge in the wake of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, the historic Aug. 26 demonstrations which revealed the potential mass character of the women's liberation movement, and the massive Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the Vietnam war in Los Angeles.

In addition, he said, developments like the growing prison revolts, the rise of a movement fighting for the liberation of homosexuals, and the increasing radicalization of high school students testify to the depth of the current radicalization and the interrelation and interaction of all the various movements.

The May events

A difference of opinion arose during the discussion of the political report concerning an assessment of the May events and the power of the student movement. A small number of delegates felt that the estimation of the May events in the political report and resolution was too positive and did not sufficiently emphasize the "limitations of the student movement." One delegate said, "It's an



Convention photos by Howard Petrick

One delegate's doodling

overstatement to say that the May student upsurge forced Nixon to withdraw from Cambodia." A few other delegates thought the resolution was wrong to project the YSA's orientation toward campus struggles and thought it should have dealt more with developments within the trade union movement.

The overwhelming sentiment expressed by the delegates, however, was that the May upsurge had been a powerful and deepgoing social upheaval which confirmed the YSA's past analysis of the power of the student movement. Not only, it was pointed out, can students have effect by spurring other social layers into motion, but the student movement by itself has significant social weight and interconnections with the working class, Third World communities, and other social layers.

The May events were also seen as verifying the correctness of the strategy the YSA has projected for the student movement—that is, to turn the campuses and high schools into centers for organizing against the war in Southeast Asia, for the Third World liberation struggles, for women's liberation, and for other struggles. This is exactly what happened on hundreds of campuses across the country during May: students took control of their universities and turned them into "antiwar universities."

Geoff Mirelowitz, a high school delegate from Chicago, pointed out that Nixon would never have stuck to his deadline for withdrawal from Cambodia if the students had not taken over their schools and begun reaching out to the community and organizing masses of Americans against the war.

Jean Savage, a delegate from Philadelphia who was a leader of the student strike at the University of California at Berkeley during the May events, noted that the YSA's orientation to building campus and high school struggles, the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American liberation movements, the women's liberation movement, and the antiwar movement does not at all mean the YSA is not relating to workers. She pointed out that young workers are present in all these movements, and that their struggles against the war in Vietnam and against their oppression as Chicanos, as Blacks, and as women are of vital importance in and of themselves.

The position held by most of the delegates was summarized well by Debby Woodrooffe from New York when she said that the test of revolutionaries is whether they "wholeheartedly embrace the new

During the Young Socialist Alliance convention, the 1,200 participants purchased a record total of \$3,800 worth of revolutionary literature at a table set up by Pathfinder Press. This amount compares with \$1,900 sold at last year's YSA convention.

forms which the radicalization is taking today," rather than standing aside from these revolutionary struggles because they may not fit into some preconceived pattern.

The political report and resolution were approved by the delegates with two dissenting votes. Amendments proposing that the YSA deemphasize participation in campus struggles received only a few votes.

Build the antiwar movement

The antiwar report, given by YSA antiwar director Carl Frank, dissected all Nixon's fraudulent schemes such as "Vietnamization," phony "peace plans," and skimpy "troop withdrawals."

"All Nixon's schemes to diffuse antiwar sentiment only serve to lay the basis for the next big explosion of protest when Nixon exposes the fact that all his promises were lies," Frank predicted.

Much of the antiwar report dealt with the problem of building a united antiwar movement in order to achieve the most powerful demonstration of antiwar protest this spring.

A key task projected for the YSA in the antiwar report was full participation in building the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the only national, mass student antiwar organization. In the course of discussion on the antiwar report, delegates described their successes in organizing GIs, high school students, and women against the war through the SMC.

Black and Chicano liberation

Another key report and discussion was on the Black liberation movement.

Norman Oliver, the reporter on the National Executive Committee resolution, summarized the present stage of the Black struggle as "one of



preparation for the formation of a mass Black nationalist party through the building of mass actions around nationalist demands of the Black community."

A significant portion of the report went into the development of Black feminism: the large numbers of Black women who came out to demonstrate on Aug. 26, the formation of Black women's groups on college campuses, the growing struggles of Black women workers, and the impact of feminism on Black organizations such as the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

"Black feminism," said Oliver, "has strengthened the Black liberation struggle through moving a whole new layer of our people into action, through giving Black women a greater confidence in themselves and increasing their consciousness of oppression and their desire to fight."

The YSA also voiced its full support to the efforts of the Cairo United Front in Illinois and will do all that it can to aid the national defense campaign for the Cairo Black community, which has for years been subject to vicious terrorist attacks by white vigilantes.

The report on the Chicano liberation movement, by Mirta Vidal, began by describing the development of the Chicano movement, from the impact of the Cuban Revolution and the Mexican 1968 student upsurge on a layer of Chicano youth, to the mass high school "blow-outs" and student strikes in the spring of '68, to the Chicano youth conference held in Denver in 1969, and to the formation of Raza Unida parties in Texas, Colorado, and now in California.

"It is out of the nationalist struggles of Chicanos that revolutionary consciousness will come," said Vidal. She scored the positions of the Communist Party and Progressive Labor Party, which either overtly or covertly oppose Chicano nationalism by falsely counterposing demagogic pleas for "working-class unity."

In the discussion of the report, Hilda Rangel, YSA national field secretary, described the potential for the growth of Chicana feminism, despite

The YSA convention clearly had an impact on guests. Of the approximately 500 nonmembers attending, some 125 applied to join the YSA during the course of the convention. This is in addition to 600 who joined during the year since the previous convention. (Of the 1,220 at the convention, 1,016 responded that they were regular readers of The Militant.)

the influence of the Catholic Church and its conservatizing views on the family within the Chicano community.

Following the Chicano struggle report and discussion, a report was given by Candida McCollam, secretary of the U. S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners, on her recent trip

to Mexico and the campaign for amnesty for Mexican political prisoners which the Committee is launching.

Feminism

Discussion of the women's liberation movement was based on a report by Cindy Jaquith, YSA women's liberation director and new YSA national secretary. She began by defending the feminist movement against the various attacks that have been leveled against it, such as attacks on the movement for welcoming lesbians, socialists, and so-called "man-haters" into its ranks.

She stressed the main point of the National Executive Committee resolution, which is that the women's movement must orient to becoming a mass movement, drawing millions of American women into struggle. She analyzed the positions of the various currents in the women's movement who do not see the significance of the Aug. 26 women's demonstrations, when thousands of women took a first step toward demanding control of their own lives.

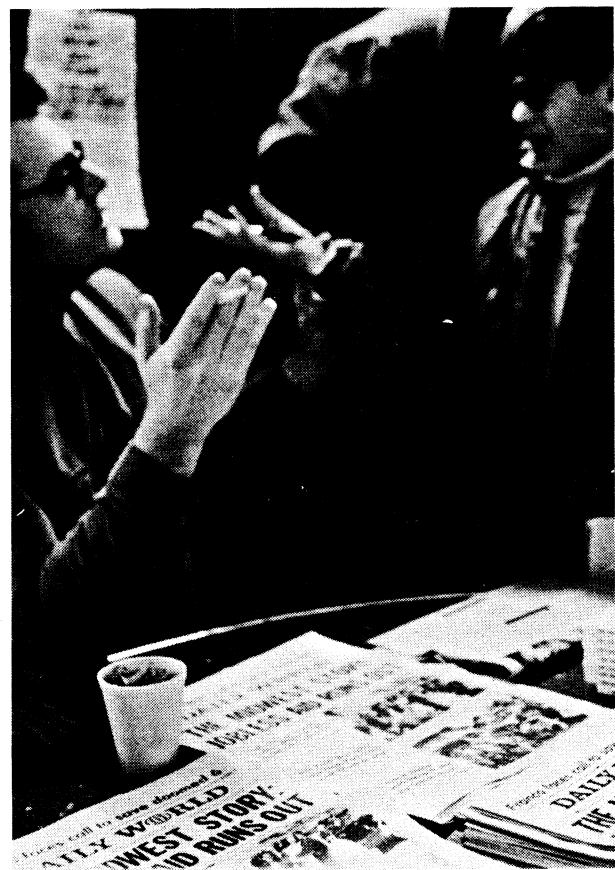
During the enthusiastic and spirited discussion on the report and resolution, delegates spoke of the great impact of the feminist movement on the YSA—the consciousness-raising that both men and women in the organization are experiencing concerning the oppression of women and the oppressiveness of the whole sexual role system, and the increasing confidence and leadership participation of women in the YSA.

The final reports at the convention were the organizational, financial, and *Young Socialist Organizer* reports. The general organizational report by Rich Finkel made the following major projections: further YSA expansion to new areas through regional organizing; a spring campaign for 7,500 new subscribers to *The Militant*; continuing socialist education; defense campaigns such as the Ernest Mandel case, the cases of the USLA Justice Committee, and a campaign in response to Nixon's attacks on the student movement; and YSA participation in building the socialist election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party.

In addition to supporting SWP candidates in elections, it was reported that the YSA had initiated 25 socialist campaigns for student government office and had won office in 10 such efforts.

In addition to all the plenary sessions of the convention, more than a dozen workshops and panels were held on such diverse topics as high school struggles, regional organizing, and Third World women's liberation.

A wide range of organizations came to the convention to sell their literature and engage in discussions with convention participants. Twenty-one people registered as representatives of different high school and underground newspapers. Literature tables were set up inside the convention hall by supporters of the New York Women's Strike Coalition, Boston Female Liberation, the Irish republican movement, and the Palestine liberation move-



CP LINE DEBATED. Participant in YSA convention takes on spokesman at table offering Daily World and several Communist Party pamphlets. In their first attempt to directly influence those at a Trotskyist gathering, CPers found participants qualified to respond.

ment. In the lobby, literature was sold by such diverse groups as the Young Workers Liberation League, the Socialist Party, the Red Women's Detachment, and Youth Against War and Fascism. For the first time at any YSA function, a table was set up by the *Daily World*, the newspaper which expresses the views of the Communist Party.

The confidence and optimism which infused the whole convention was well summed up by Ruth Getts, a delegate from Portland, after she described a successful YSA fight against attempts by a university administration to prevent the YSA from holding meetings on the campus. "We have found," she said, "that the whole Pacific Northwest is just waiting to be organized. There are thousands of young socialists out there who are looking for an organization like the YSA."

Convention had many int'l guests

The YSA convention was infused with a spirit of internationalism and solidarity with revolutionary struggles around the world. A discussion panel of supporters of the Palestinian revolution, one of the highlights of the convention, was attended by all participants. Another panel, attended by over 200, heard reports by revolutionary socialists from groups identifying with the Fourth International.

Al Cappe of the Canadian Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes told the convention of the deepening radicalization in Canada, especially in Quebec, and noted the special links between the work of the YSA and the work of the YS/LJS because of Canada's role as junior partner to U. S. imperialism.

A letter of greeting was read to the convention from the International Marxist Group in Germany. It described current officially unauthorized strikes among metal workers in Germany and the growth of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, a new youth organization which works with the IMG.

New Zealand was one area represented at the convention where no revolutionary-socialist organization had existed before the current youth radicalization. Hugh Fyson was a convention guest from the New Zealand Socialist Action League, which was formed only 16 months ago.

Branches of the SAL, said Fyson, now exist in each of the three major cities of New Zealand, and the group's major activities are building the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement.

Francesco Marchi brought greetings from the International Communist Group of Italy, the Italian section of the Fourth International, and reported on the growth of the revolutionary Marxist movement in that country.

Guido Totte, from the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes/Socialistischer Jonge Wacht, said that for the first time in Belgium, there is now a unified, mass student movement in colleges and high schools across the country, and that the student movement is the major area of work of the JGS/SJW.

Totte told of the projected fusion of several revolutionary-socialist groups in Belgium to form a new, stronger Revolutionary Workers League.

The guest from France was Richard Lecomte from the Communist League, who discussed the new generation of young workers, who were now looking for alternatives to the conservative French Communist Party.

The Communist League is looking forward to a fusion with another organization called Workers Struggle, which would greatly strengthen the forces for revolutionary socialism in France.

Phil Hearse brought greetings to the convention from the International Marxist Group and the youth organization Spartacus League in Great Britain. The Spartacus League was very active in supporting the recent strike of dock workers in England and is also active in the British women's liberation movement.

The special panel in support of the Palestinian revolution included: Mansour Harik, national secretary of the Organization of Arab Students; Emmanuel Farjoun, a supporter of the Israeli Socialist Organization; Mohsin Shaheen, a supporter of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine; Samir Abraham, cochairman of the Committee Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East; Rich Finkel from the YSA; and Hatem from Palestine House in Washington, D. C.

The representatives on the panel discussed numerous aspects of the Mideast struggle. All agreed on the necessity for closer collaboration and solidarity between American revolutionaries, Arab



FILMING. YSA GLs and veterans were interviewed by film team headed by David L. Weiss (with hat) for a movie of the YSA convention. Two of Weiss' previous documentaries, "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger" and "Profile of a Peace Parade," were award winners. Contributions to help finance cost of film may be sent to YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.

organizations in the U. S., and the revolutionary movements in the Arab countries.

Mansour Harik noted that the YSA was "among the first of radical organizations to build support for the Arab revolution and to grasp in a mature manner the dynamics of the Palestinian revolution."

The YSA convention elected a National Committee, which selected three national officers: Frank Boehm, national chairman; Cindy Jaquith, national secretary, and Norman Oliver, national organizational secretary.

Boehm, 20, joined the YSA in 1968 as a student at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Ill. He was a leader of a campaign by NIU students in support of a strike by the local State, County and Municipal Employees union.

Norman Oliver, also 20, joined the YSA as a high school student in Detroit in 1968. He was formerly a leader of the Detroit Student Mobilization Committee and was active in the Association of Black Students at Highland Park Jr. College. Last month Oliver went to Germany and visited several U.S. Army bases to talk with Black antiwar GLs.

Cindy Jaquith, 23, joined the YSA three years ago as a student at Barnard College in New York, where she was an officer of the Columbia University Committee to Aid Antiwar GLs.

Wide media coverage

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

Unprecedented news coverage was given the Young Socialist convention. News stories, feature articles, and interviews appeared before, during and after the five-day event.

Reporters were present from a wide variety of media, bourgeois, radical and campus, both domestic and foreign. Major dailies, wire services, and the broadcast media were all present.

Much of the wide coverage can be credited to the systematic work of a press relations team that included Bill Massey, Joanna Misnik, Steve Beren and Bob Gahtan.

The three major New York television stations gave coverage to the convention, as did the major radio stations and local FM broadcasters.

Both UPI and AP put stories on their wires that were picked up by papers and newscasters around the country.

For the first time, *The New York Times* gave significant coverage to a YSA event, with two major news stories on the convention.

The *Daily News*, the nation's biggest mass circulation daily, gave its first extensive coverage to the YSA with a long, if politically garbled, account of the convention.

The *New York Post*, the city's lone afternoon daily, carried extensive news accounts before and during the convention.

There were reporters from the BBC, *Pravda*, the Japanese Network News, the "China Central News Agency" from Formosa, the *Hindustan Standard*, the *London Evening News*, and other of the foreign media.

The *Guardian*, *Daily World*, and virtually all of the other radical publications were in the press section, along with a large representation from the campus and underground papers.

On Dec. 26, the *New York Post* reported: "The organization that J. Edgar Hoover has called 'the largest and best organized group in leftwing radicalism,' the Young Socialist Alliance, will open its 10th annual convention here tomorrow morning."

"Almost 2,000 members are expected at Manhattan Center and the New Yorker Hotel to hammer out antiwar and student activist positions in the five-day convention."

The article continued: "With the decline of the Students for a Democratic Society, the YSA is now regarded as the major student radical organization."

The Dec. 28 *New York Times* reported: "Both in yesterday's meetings — open for the first time to outside press coverage — and discussion papers circulated in advance, the Young Socialist Alliance pictured the Trotskyites . . . as working for 'mass action' for 'world revolution' to bring about socialism in place of 'exploitation and oppression under capitalism.'"

The article continued: "Mr. [Frank] Boehm urged efforts to build up the Student Mobilization Committee and alliances with homosexual, women's liberation, high school, and 'Red University' campus movements, along with support of Socialist Workers candidates while 'the mass of the people maintain electoral illusions.'"

The Dec. 31 *Post* reported: "'We try not to lead struggles solely in our own name,' Miss [Joanna] Misnik said. 'We are building socialism, and to do this we work with other groups which are going to become socialist and anticapitalist.'"

"Miss Misnik, who is an active member of YSA, also spent two years as the New York coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, an antiwar student group. . . ."

"At its convention, the YSA adopted resolutions calling for continued action by its members in 'struggles' being conducted by a number of groups such as women, Blacks, Chicanos, high school and college students, and various antiwar groups."

And for good measure, the Jan. 1 *Times* reported: "Twelve hundred delegates and observers at the Young Socialist Alliance convention voted yesterday to give even greater emphasis to making 'every university a Red university.'"



Socialist GI faces tour in Vietnam



Pvt. Ed Jurenas

By RANDY FURST

"Ultimate assignment," read the Army orders, "Vietnam." Pvt. Ed Jurenas surveyed the packet of materials handed him by a military functionary at Fort Polk, La. The orders were punitive, clear and simple—Pvt. Jurenas' penalty for outspoken opposition to the war.

For Jurenas, a bespectacled 23-year-old revolutionary socialist from Chicago, Vietnam had been an integral part of his life, long before the assignment came down Dec. 10 for shipment to the war zone.

For some four years, Jurenas has been organizing demonstrations and marching against the war, in four different states—Illinois, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Washington.

It was in Seattle last June that Jurenas, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, received a letter from his draft board notifying him of his acceptability for induction.

Jurenas recalls with a smile, "I began about that time to develop a big interest in the GI movement." On Aug. 6, while some 40 antiwar protesters picketed the Seattle army induction center, Jurenas was inducted into the United States Army.

This week, as American aircraft pummeled South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos with bombs, Pvt. Jurenas was scheduled to depart for Saigon for combat infantry duty.

If anything, his opposition to American imperialism has become even more resolute. "One of the things I hold closest," says Pvt. Jurenas, a soft-spoken, easygoing young man, "is my belief in the Vietnamese revolution—a belief that that revolution has to be defended."

At a news conference in New York between plenary sessions of the YSA convention, Jurenas—now on leave from the YSA—reaffirmed his socialist views and vowed to take the antiwar struggle into the barracks in Vietnam.

A reporter asked Pvt. Jurenas if he was afraid. Said the soldier: "The idea of getting killed doesn't appeal to me. It doesn't appeal to anyone going over there. At the same time, I'm really not afraid to be there among my fellow GIs. They think along the same lines that I think. Maybe they don't use the same political language I speak, but the same thoughts are there. They want the U. S. out of Southeast Asia."

On Jan. 2, Jurenas boarded a plane for the Oakland Army Terminal, where final papers and additional equipment will be issued.

Vietnam duty follows months of harassment, in which Pvt. Jurenas was subjected to continual investigations by military intelligence. At Fort Polk, Jurenas was repeatedly interrogated by an intelligence officer. "Will you go willingly to Vietnam?" Jurenas was asked at one point. "I don't willingly go anywhere," Jurenas recalls saying, "but if I'm ordered to go I will."

Jurenas, it appears, remained under continual surveillance. A GI Jurenas was friendly with saw a sheet about Jurenas lying on a desk in the Criminal Investigating Division office at Fort Polk. The CID is a prosecuting military agency. The sheet labeled Jurenas "a radical revolutionary."

In the second week of basic training at Fort Knox, where Jurenas was made a squad leader (primarily, says Jurenas, because of his college education), he was called into the office of the drill instructor.

"Ed Jurenas, huh? That's what your friends call you, don't they?" said the instructor.

"Yes."

The officer showed Jurenas a newspaper clipping including a wire service photograph. He smiled at Jurenas. "Is this you?" he asked.

"Yes," answered Jurenas.

"You've made the front page of the *Army Times*," Jurenas remembers the drill instructor saying. He handed Jurenas the clipping.

"I appointed you squad leader before I knew about you," said the officer. But he said he wasn't going to have Jurenas removed, because he was doing a pretty good job. He would keep his post, the officer said, as long as Jurenas' political views didn't interfere with his duties.

The last week of basic, Jurenas was again ordered into the office of the company commander. Outside the office, a company clerk warned Pvt. Jurenas that he was about to get "a screw job."

Inside the office, the company commander told

Jurenas, "You've really been a model soldier. But I have orders from the Army not to promote you."

At the close of basic training, GIs traditionally try to learn beforehand what their assignment will be. A trainee who worked in the orderly room found out that Jurenas was getting "new orders" for Fort Polk.

If these were new orders, Jurenas asked, what were the original orders?

The trainee went back and looked. The original orders were for clerk school. Fort Polk was for advanced infantry training. "No one wants to go to Polk," Jurenas explains. "There's more harassment there than anywhere. They call it Tigerland."

A huge sign hangs over one of the post entrances at Fort Polk. The sign reads, "Birthplace of the Combat Infantrymen of Vietnam."

"That's a shock when you see that," says Jurenas, remembering the day the bus pulled in to Fort Polk. "It just about floored everybody. Suddenly the reality hit home. One guy on the bus turned to me when he saw that sign and said, 'Oh, what am I doing here.'"

That question was asked repeatedly, in one way or another by many GIs during Jurenas' training.

"Antiwar sentiment in the Army is overwhelming," said Jurenas as we sat in a corridor at the Hotel New Yorker where workshop meetings at the YSA convention were being conducted.

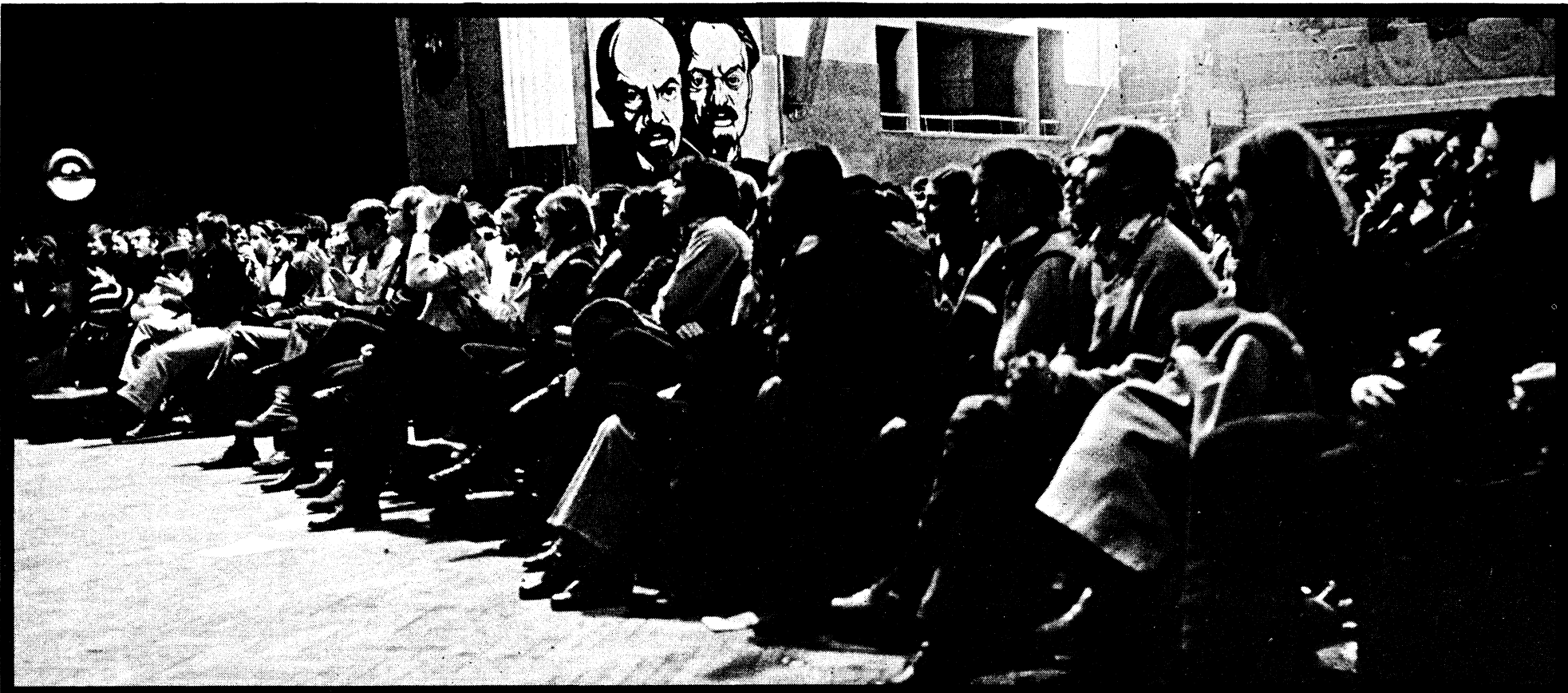
"To a man in my platoon, I couldn't find a GI who was in favor of the war," he said. "A lot of guys were actually considering going to Canada, going to jail, or showing up late if at all for Oakland."

"The platoon guide—the head of the platoon—was very antiwar. He had been a social worker. He'd bad-mouth the Army and the war. He even had a slogan on his helmet that read, 'You have not converted a man because you have silenced him.'"

Jurenas said that officers would never force the man to remove the saying or the numerous peace signs or the word "peace" that were often seen on soldiers' helmets. "One Black guy from New York had printed a Black clenched fist, a picture of a Panther, and the slogan 'Power to the people' on his helmet."

Jurenas related incidents in which the men would refuse to follow orders. He remembered the day when his company was slow in coming out for reveille. As punishment, the officer in charge ordered the GIs into the push-up position. "About half the company wouldn't do it."

The closest thing Jurenas ever saw to a revolt, he says, was when his platoon was slow in getting onto a truck after a military exercise. The platoon guide ordered all the men off the truck and said that for punishment they would have to march the 12 miles back to base. "Fifteen to 20 guys, out of about 45," says Jurenas, "sat down on the ground and flatly refused to march." Finally a training officer ordered all the men back into the truck. "They got no punishment whatsoever," says Jurenas. "These things," he says, "are common occurrences."



RAPT AUDIENCE. One of the highlights of the convention was an address by Peter Camejo, an early leader of the YSA and a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party. When he finished speaking on "The Roots of the American Socialist Revolution," 26 people applied for YSA membership. Another convention highlight was a public address by Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press* and one-time secretary to Leon Trotsky. Hansen spoke on "Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution."

Third World Liberation Notes

Antiwar currents seem to be rifling through the Portuguese armed forces. The Dec. 31 **New York Times** reports on a statement by Portugal's minister of defense, no less, warning new officer recruits from the universities and technical schools against any attempt to "subvert" the armed forces. In this address to staff officers, the minister, Gen. Horacio Jose de Sa Viana Rebelo, threatened to end student deferments if the "subversion" continued. These antiwar sentiments are finally emerging after a decade of fighting by Portugal against African independence movements in "Portuguese" Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

Four hundred Black high school students in Philadelphia held a rally at the Church of the Advocate Dec. 21. The rally, called by the Black United Liberation Front and Black Student Unions, was in defense of the Malcolm X Four.

The Malcolm X Four are four Black high school students transferred from Malcolm X High School (known as Benjamin Franklin High by the Board of Education). They were transferred during recent school elections when they circulated a leaflet calling for "Black Revolutionary Student Power." The rally also took up the defense of other high school students who were expelled or transferred, and an African teacher, Mohammed Togane, who was fired for defending the rights of the students at Edison High.

Almost like father like son.

Brigadier General Daniel "Chappie" James Jr., U.S. Air Force and deputy assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, got his stars by bombing untold numbers of Vietnamese to death. His claim to fame is that he is one of the two existing Black generals in the U.S. armed forces. Recently, in a Pentagon ceremony, Brig. Gen. James had the

honor of pinning the Distinguished Flying Cross on his son, Lt. Daniel James III. Lt. James got his medal, not by doing the actual bombing, but as an air controller by directing others to bomb Vietnamese peasants to death.

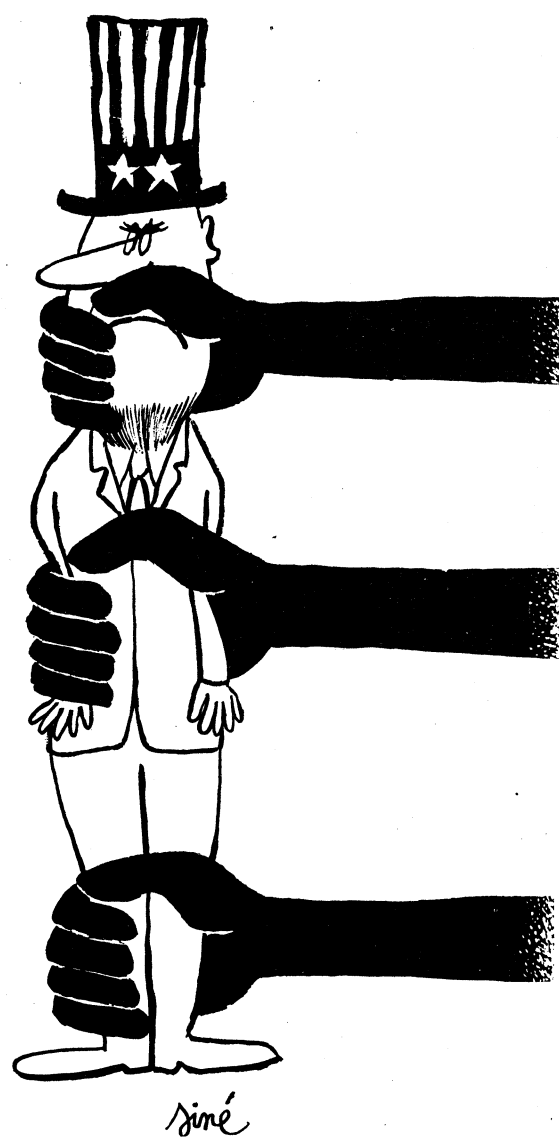
The Dec. 12 Baltimore Afro-American reports the jobless rate for Black Vietnam veterans is 18.1 percent. This compares with 8.1 percent for white veterans and an overall unemployment rate of 5.8 percent.

Obliterating the Mason-Dixon line, Robert M. Shelton, imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, claims that Michigan is the KKK's strongest state outside the South.

Hugh Masekela, noted vocalist and jazz trumpeter, has formed a new seven-piece group called the Union of South Africa. All of the members of the group are South African exiles. The group will devote itself to expressing the indigenous music of southern Africa.

Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield, South Carolina, used to be all-white. The school's athletic teams are called the Rebels. Thurmond is the notorious racist senator from South Carolina. But now the students are demanding a change. Since the fall of 1970, the student body has become 65 percent Black. The Blacks, organized into a group known as the Community Action for Full Citizenship in Edgefield County, have filed a suit in federal court asking that the name of the school be changed, that the school's fight song "Dixie" be prohibited, and that the waving of Confederate flags at school games and other functions be banned.

— DERRICK MORRISON



The National Picket Line

The terrible mine explosion in the mountain country near Wootton, Kentucky, that blew away 38 miners a few minutes after high noon on Dec. 30, 1970, occurred exactly one year to the day after enactment by Congress of the Coal Health and Safety Act. The disaster occurred because there is no serious effort by the federal government or any of its agencies to enforce the provisions of this law. And, significantly, it occurred in a nonunion region, abandoned by the United Mine Workers, where the men who dig coal are forced by Appalachian poverty conditions to crawl unprotected into the thin-vein slopes opened by small-time operators. These unorganized miners are powerless to close the pits when disaster threatens.

This particular tragedy is made more bitter by the certain knowledge that it could have been prevented easily if the victims themselves had been free to act on their own instinct of self-preservation. But their whole environment and the entire conditioning of their lives, brought on by the prevailing methods of coal mining, force them to disregard personal safety even against their own feelings and judgment.

A quarter-century ago the coal trust, by agreement with officials of the United Mine Workers union, undertook the complete, unrestricted mechanization of coal mining. No one then foresaw what the awful result would be. But today, vast sections of the Appalachian coal fields are destroyed by strip mining and augering. The mountain country is laid waste. The timber is gone. Farming in the valleys is no longer possible. The people who are left scratch in the "dog holes" to bring out coal passed over by the giant mining operations. It is their only source of income, the only thing left.

There is a pall of futility that hangs over the region and pervades the lives of those trapped there. Even the government mine inspectors, many of them ex-miners, are weighed down by a feeling that nothing can be done to improve conditions or make mining safe—a feeling strongly reinforced by collusion between the Federal Bureau of Mines and the mine operators.

The Finley Brothers Coal Co. mine, where the explosion took place, provides an example of the cynicism and total disregard for lives of workers that prevail generally in all branches and agencies of government and particularly in the operator-dominated Bureau of Mines.

The mine that exploded was opened only last March and was cited for 34 safety violations in the few months of its operation. It was closed for three

days in June because of dust. A miner was killed by a faulty machine Nov. 9. When last inspected, on Nov. 23, the mine was cited for "imminent danger." It continued operations until the fatal day, Dec. 30.

Why this mine, in "imminent danger," continued to operate for more than a month until it exploded is no mystery. The Kentucky Department of Mines and Minerals is headed by a mine owner, Herald N. Kirkpatrick. The U.S. Bureau of Mines is headed by a friend of the mine owners, Dr. Elbert F. Osborn. Osborn expressed the attitude of the coal mining industry when he said, "This disaster was not unexpected. We've had two good years since the last disaster at Farmington (W.Va.), and I think we can almost expect one of these a year."

This callous attitude, the complete acceptance of industrial processes that destroy the natural environment and snuff out human life, is common throughout industry. The mining industry happens to show most clearly the raw wounds, and here the human tragedies are sudden and more dramatic; so the greed of the owners and the cynicism of their agents in government are more shocking than in other branches of industry.

In West Virginia, an aspiring Democratic Party politician and one of the super-rich who own all big industry and run this country, John D. Rockefeller 4th, has announced his intention to seek abolition of strip mining in that state—"completely and forever." A member of the state legislature, the 33-year-old "younger Rockefeller" says he has discovered that the present strip-mine law which limits and controls the operation has "shown itself to be unenforceable in this state." There is no reason to believe that another statute outlawing the operation would be more enforceable. However, Rockefeller hopes to improve his chances of being elected governor of West Virginia in 1972 by sponsoring such a law, knowing it will not be enacted.

To outlaw strip mining is a popular cause wherever the big shovels have been moved in to scoop up the earth and tear out the coal and leave a wasteland behind. But no action against strip mining will come from those who represent and defend the profit system. Even safety laws, such as the Coal Health and Safety Act, when adopted are not enforced if they threaten profits in any sector of industry.

— FRANK LOVELL



Polish workers oust Gomulka



Polish workers burned Communist Party headquarters in Szczecin.

By DOUG JENNESS

The week-long uprising of Polish workers last month culminated with a major upheaval of the country's top leadership. Wladyslaw Gomulka, Communist Party head, was replaced by Edward Gierek, Premier Cyrankiewicz was replaced by Piotr Jaroszewicz, and four of the 12 members of the Politburo were replaced.

The revolt which began in Gdansk on Dec. 14, triggered by huge hikes in the price of food, clothing and fuel, spread quickly, affecting at least a half dozen major cities and tens of thousands of workers.

The government savagely attacked the protesters, and the estimates of the number killed range from the government figure of 30 to the figure of two Swedish reporters who estimated that in Gdansk alone hundreds died.

Kurt Karlsson, reporter for the Swedish daily *Expressen*, who was in Gdansk at the height of the outbreak wrote:

"What happened in Gdansk was a revolution—and a successful one. The local Communist Party leadership hung a white flag from a window of the top floor and left the building with their hands up.

"The house was set on fire and party officials were seized by about 3,000 shipyard workers who had marched in from the harbor.

"Riot police brought in from all over

northern Poland fired on the demonstrators, but all eyewitnesses agree that only a few soldiers used their weapons."

From Szczecin, Swedish radio reporter Anders Thunberg reported: "Thousands of workers tried to leave their work at the docks but were stopped by the police. Police sirens screamed and the police tried to make the workers return to work; but the angry workers overturned two police cars and threw bricks at them. More policemen arrived in jeeps and buses. The police surrounded the dock area, and no outsiders were allowed in. . . .

"More and more people arrived, and discontented housewives stood on the pavements talking. Slogans like 'We are workers not roughnecks' were written on house walls and tanks. Youngsters gathered before the tanks singing national songs and shouting, 'The soldiers for the people!'"

The action in Szczecin appears to have been more than a sporadic outburst. *New York Times* reporter James Feron, based in Warsaw, after interviewing a woman from Szczecin on Dec. 31, wrote: "The shipyard workers returned to the yards and began a sit-in strike. By the next day, other workers joined them and strike committees had been formed.

"The woman from Szczecin said most public facilities continued to function. The Szczecin radio, its staff in sym-

pathy with the strikers, broadcast announcements from power and transportation workers saying they were maintaining service.

"The newspaper *Glos Szczecinski* appeared with a notice identifying it as a strike paper."

A Dec. 29 Associated Press dispatch indicated that "occupation of the factories continued until a truce was arranged: a return to work against the removal of the tanks and a promise of no reprisals against the workers."

There are indications that had the governmental shifts not been made, the uprising would have deepened further. Bernard Marguerite writing in the French daily *Le Monde* on Dec. 23 states: "Any reforms, even the most justified, would have no chance of winning the support of the population. . . .

"Even in Warsaw, many plant delegations had announced their intention to organize demonstrations before the holidays unless there was a new development in the situation. No one can tell what might have happened if the agitation had spread to the capital in this way."

The Gomulka regime did not admit that the workers were responsible, but rather blamed the actions on "hooligans." Premier Cyrankiewicz, in a radio broadcast on Dec. 17, said that

"Hostile forces are endeavoring to create new seats of anarchy. . . ."

The new party chief, Gierek, admitted, however, that the demonstrations stemmed from grievances of the workers and was quick to blame the economic difficulties on the Gomulka regime. He told the Polish people on Dec. 20 "that the party must always maintain close links with the working class and the whole nation, that it must not lose a common language with the working people."

A significant development which may have some importance in the coming months was the frankness about the situation in Poland that several Polish newspapers began to express. The weekly *Polityka* straightforwardly stated that "the party is responsible for the causes that gave rise to the tragic events. . . . The picture presented by propaganda was far from reality.

"Such practices sanctioned the very dangerous social phenomenon of double-thinking—having one standard for show and another for private use and for close friends, uttered at the snack bar during breaks in public meetings and conferences and at the family table in a group of friends."

The daily *Zycie Warszawy* and the party paper *Trybuna Ludu*, though not as sharp in their criticisms, called for an "atmosphere of truth" and for "holding a frank discussion."

Irrepressible struggle for workers' democracy

By DOUG JENNESS

The Polish workers, whose angry uprising last month forced the removal of Communist Party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka, have written a new and significant page in the history of working-class struggles against bureaucratic Stalinist rule in Eastern Europe. The "Polish December" of 1970 is part of the same historical pattern of struggles that include: the 1953 nationwide general strike and insurrection in East Germany; the 1953 Vorkuta strike of 250,000 labor camp prisoners in the U. S. S. R.; the 1956 "bread and freedom" uprising in Poznan, Poland; the 1956 Hungarian revolution;

and the 1968 "Czechoslovak spring."

The revolt last month, like the 1956 events in Poland, shows that under the oppressive rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy a mass workers struggle—beginning as a struggle for economic demands—tends to become transferred into a political uprising against the regime itself.

In 1956, the uprising was sparked by a strike for higher wages on June 28 at the Stalin automotive works in Poznan and grew into a city-wide general strike. It was brutally suppressed by tanks and troops after three bitter days of street fighting. Fifty-

three persons were killed and 300 were wounded.

As in 1970, the Poznan workers directed their pent-up rage against the symbols of state and party repression—the Communist Party headquarters, the jails and the offices of the security police. During the conflict, the jail was seized, prisoners freed, records destroyed, and the jail burned down. The principal slogans were "Bread and Higher Wages" and "Russians Leave Poland."

The Stalinist regime at first charged that "agent provocateurs" were responsible for the violent outburst, much as Gomulka blamed "hooligans" in

1970. It later admitted that the workers had legitimate grievances but that "hoodlums" had taken advantage of the situation.

Enter Gomulka

After the Poznan strike, discontent within the working class became so great that the bureaucracy was forced to set up a new regime in October. Gomulka, who had been convicted for alleged "Titoism" in 1949 and locked up for four years, was made head of the party.

Widely known as a victim of Mos-

cow's purges, Gomulka's appointment was considered a concession to the strongly anti-Russian sentiments of the Polish workers. The selection of Gomulka was made by a plenum of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, defying a delegation from Moscow led by Khrushchev. The delegation threatened military intervention unless the old Politburo was reestablished.

The Gomulka government kept the workers up to date on the military danger, and mass meetings were held in factories throughout the country. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow backed off in the face of this organized resistance.

At first, Gomulka, representing the liberal wing of the bureaucracy, initiated a few reforms, including the abandonment of collectivized agriculture. The regime also recognized the existence of the workers councils in the factories, formed during the struggle. However, these councils were given no real rights, and by the spring of 1958, their role as independent voices of the working class was totally broken.

Gomulka, who had symbolized the workers' hope for bettering their economic condition, was toppled fourteen years later by a workers' uprising. The economic problems Gomulka faced in 1970 did not appear suddenly, but have been building up over the past few years and are similar to problems facing other East European regimes. These include inflation, unemployment, slowdown in the growth of national income, poor quality of goods, waste, unfavorable trade relations with the Soviet Union, and a low rate of agricultural productivity.

These problems are rooted in the economic and political needs of the privileged bureaucracy which rules these countries—needs which are absolutely contrary to the interests of the workers.

Kuron and Modzelewski

The contradiction in Poland between the privileged bureaucracy, on one hand, and the workers, peasants and students, on the other, was explained in 1965 by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski in an "Open Letter to Members of the University of Warsaw Sections of the United Polish Workers Party and the Union of Young Socialists."

Kuron and Modzelewski, Polish revolutionary Marxists, were expelled from the party and youth organization and sentenced to prison in 1965 for expressing opinions critical of the regime. Their "Open Letter" was the first major revolutionary Marxist document to appear in any workers state since the physical annihilation of the Russian Left Opposition and the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

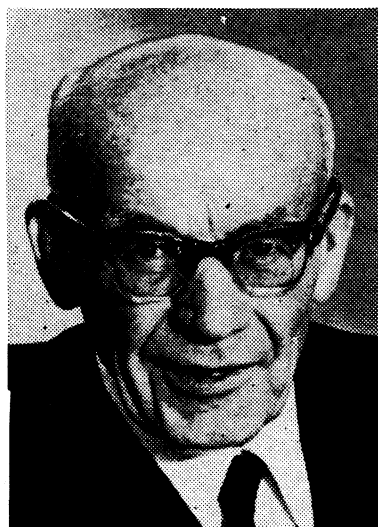
Among other questions, the document analyzed economic problems of the Polish regime such as those which led Gomulka to announce substantial price increases on Dec. 13. These increases on basic necessities triggered the uprising by the workers.

The price increases, however, were only part of a series of reforms that the Gomulka regime had been experimenting with for the past few months to cope with growing economic problems. One of these was to do away with wage bonuses that workers receive when they exceed production quotas. In their place, new incentive plans were instituted in 10 selected enterprises whereby the plants would be rewarded on the basis of efficiency and the quality of goods. This, of course, met with hostility among the workers who—lacking any democratic control over production—now had to work harder and more carefully with no obvious gains to themselves. *New York Times* writer James Feron, based in Warsaw, reported on Dec. 20, 1970, that this had led to "flash strikes and brief protests with some workers reportedly securing tem-

porary adjustments." Thus the price increases added fuel to already smouldering coals.

In addition to these changes, the government was going to include as part of its next five year plan (1971-1975) semi-autonomous industrial trusts for each branch of industry with a degree of independence from the central economic plan and greater independence for plant managers.

These changes, similar to many employed in other East European countries—along with the lowering of prices on expensive goods such as televisions, automobiles, refrigerators, etc.—clearly indicate the pressure from the large "technocratic" or managerial



Wladyslaw Gomulka

sector of the bureaucracy that demands more privileges and greater control for itself. These "reforms" have nothing to do with bettering the deteriorating economic condition of the working class and in fact are helping to worsen that condition.

Modzelewski and Kuron describe the parasitic caste as follows: "Formerly, government officials loved to wear blue overalls, willingly advertising their working-class origins; they gave medals to the best workers and were embarrassed to pay a manager 10 times more than a worker. Today, government officials dress in elegant clothing, and the managers—who sweat the surplus product out of the workers—are the positive heroes of the building of socialism; and their autos and villas are eloquent testimony to their social prestige and civic virtues. Today exploitation is out in the open for all to see; it is no longer carried on by means of propaganda and forced enthusiasm, but openly by means of the whip of economic sanctions, administrative duress, and—if any attempt is made to resist—by police coercion."

These privileged parasites, who enforce inequality, cannot tolerate any form of protest or expression of critical ideas in the factories and mines or on the university campuses. This was clearly demonstrated in 1968 when student demonstrations rocked Poland.

Student protest

Following the Gomulka regime's prohibition of performances of a nineteenth century anti-Russian drama, students and writers protested. Arrests of some of these protesters led to mass student demonstrations involving tens of thousands of students throughout the entire country. Police and special goon squads of "party activists" were sent on to the campuses to savagely break up these actions.

Two of the rallying cries were, "Long Live the Writers" and "Long Live Czechoslovakia"—the latter slogan expressing solidarity with the social and political revolt taking place in Czechoslovakia at that time.

The villainous response by Poland's Stalinist overlords descended to a shameful low when they attempted to divide the workers from the students—stirring up traditional Polish anti-Semitism by branding the students as agents of "Zionism." Thousands of stu-

dents were arrested, as well as Kuron and Modzelewski, who had been released in 1967 after serving two-thirds of their sentences.

Though the students had evoked widespread sympathy and benefited from many individual acts of solidarity by workers, there had been no mass actions on their behalf, and consequently the regime was able to beat them down.

The Poznan uprising, the 1968 student struggles, and last month's explosion are all partial expressions of the revolution that will be necessary to overturn the privileged bureaucracy's political rule. This will be a political revolution, not an economic one that would change property relations. Capitalist property relations were abolished in Poland and other East European nations following World War II, and none of the struggles since have demanded their reintroduction.

Workers councils

The struggles in Eastern Europe as well as in the U.S.S.R. are rooted in the need to introduce democracy and equality into the nationalized and planned economy. The workers councils that emerged in Poland and that obtained their most mature form in Hungary in 1956 pointed to the forms that workers democracy in the workers states will take. This was also the principal organizational form of the 1917 Russian Revolution (the Russian word soviet means council) and was the vehicle through which the workers and peasants democratically participated in the new workers government in its early years, before the privileged bureaucracy led by Stalin usurped power.

In Szczecin last month, the workers, according to *New York Times* writer Feron, exercised "a measure of control over the city before returning to work on Dec. 22."

They established strike committees independent of the government-controlled trade unions. Representatives from these committees negotiated their demands with government officials and returned to the workers for changes to be accepted or rejected.

Among a list of 21 demands made by the workers at the Palmo plant in Szczecin was the call for "equalization of party workers' earnings with the average level of earnings in industry," thus hitting at the material privileges of party workers who are often managers and foremen.

Another demand called for "punishment of those who allowed the economic crisis in the country to develop, regardless of their position in the party and government."

Such strike committees forged in struggle and posing political demands can, under the right circumstances, be the first step toward the establishing of workers councils.

As reports of the Polish uprising trickle through the Stalinist censorship in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., their impact will be absorbed by workers in these countries.

The "Polish December" was aimed at the entire bureaucracy and not allied with its "liberal" wing. In addition, it was in opposition to the reforms which many bureaucratic leaders throughout Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. have hoped would alleviate their economic headaches.

Furthermore, the main target this time was clearly the Polish regime, rather than the Kremlin, as it had been in 1956 in Poland and Hungary, although this would have doubtless changed had the Kremlin threatened to intervene.

Edward Gierek, the new party chief, is not known as a "liberal" or reformer, nor for being particularly anti-Russian. He is known, however, for his leading role in smashing the student demonstrations in 1968 and linking them with "Zionism."

Although he has made a number of

concessions such as increasing family benefits, placing a two-year price freeze on nonseasonal foodstuffs, making a special distribution of oranges and lemons for Christmas, and soothing relations with the Catholic church, their effects will be relatively small and will make no long-term difference. He did not even go so far as to rescind the price increases.

Of course, he has placed the blame for the recent economic problems on Gomulka, but he faces basically the same problems, and his maneuvering room for easing them within the framework of bureaucratic rule is very limited.

As Modzelewski and Kuron correctly wrote nearly six years ago: "The bureaucracy will not concede one zloty of its own free will. In any case, given the crisis and the lack of economic reserves, it has nothing more to concede to pressure. Under these circumstances, any large-scale strike action will inevitably turn into a political conflict with the bureaucracy. This is the only way the workers can change their conditions."

"Today, in the epoch of the universal crisis of the system, the workers' interests lie in revolution: in the abolition of the bureaucracy and the production relationships associated with it, in taking control of their own labor and its product—control of production—into their own hands. That is, in establishing an economic, social and political system based on workers democracy."



Behind the Polish events

What lies beneath the Polish workers' march on the Communist Party headquarters, singing "The Internationale"? What are the questions which East European socialists, students and workers alike, are debating? Read what they have written.

Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out (1964-1968)

by Kuron, Modzelewski, Zambrowski, Deutscher

The famous Kuron-Modzelewski open letter to Polish Communist Party members analyzes the bureaucratic caste, and sets forth a revolutionary program. The letter was suppressed, the authors were imprisoned, and a storm of international protest followed.

96 pp., \$1.25

The Invasion of Czechoslovakia

edited by Les Evans

Includes a program for socialist democracy prepared by the Prague Club, a left-wing grouping, for the Communist Party Congress. With the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Russian troops, the document was never published. Containing the Czech students' call for solidarity, the book also analyzes the 1968 events.

47 pp., \$.65

Pathfinder Press

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

In Review

While Six Million Died. By Arthur D. Morse. Ace Publishing Corp., New York, N.Y. 1967. 95 cents.

While Six Million Died is a chronicle of the United States government's failure to save the lives of the six million Jews murdered by Hitler. As the most powerful and richest country on earth, the U. S. could have prevented the slaughter of millions through liberalization of U. S. immigration quotas, helping refugees obtain entry into other countries, sustenance of those still in Europe, and pressure on other governments—both Allied and Axis—to provide aid wherever possible. Instead, government inaction allowed massive genocide.

While Six Million Died is heavily documented with source notes, a bibliography and index. Some of the documents used have not previously been made public.

In addition to the fact that the U. S. made immigration more difficult by assigning small quotas to countries with large numbers of potential applicants (Germany, Poland, Italy, France, Rumania), many legal obstacles were also established. Applicants were required to furnish police certificates of good character for the preceding five years, a record of military service, two certified copies of a birth certificate, and two copies of all available public records. The law required these documents "where available," but many American consuls insisted upon full dossiers. In addition, the immigrant had to prove that she or he would not be a "public charge," that is, that someone was willing to assume financial responsibility for the person. At the same time, the applicant was not allowed to enter into employment contracts. Thus an immigrant might assure himself or herself of a job and be barred because of this foresight.

In June 1941, new regulations were issued by the State Department making it almost impossible for anyone with relatives in countries occupied by Germany to enter the U. S., on the grounds

that such entries would be "prejudicial to the public safety or inimical to the interests of the United States."

What evidence did the government have of actual Nazi mistreatment of Jews and when did it receive such information? Morse documents that beginning in 1933 Nazi atrocities against Jews were widely known. American diplomats reported regularly to the State Department, and American newspapers carried reports of Nazi persecution of Jews.

On April 7, 1933, the *New York Times* published one of the earliest accounts of the Dachau concentration camp. It reported that 4,000 more prisoners were expected to join the 500 already there and it described the double fence of high voltage wire that surrounded each hut, storm troopers with rifles escorting work parties, and some prisoners looking "long-starved and crippled."

Although the American government showed no response, Americans did. During 1933, a series of rallies were held protesting Nazi actions. The largest, in Madison Square Garden, attracted 55,000 persons.

In the following years, the government was forced by public pressure to give some appearance of helping the Jews. The Evian Conference of 1938, for instance, was initiated by the United States and attended by 32 countries. Its purpose was to encourage immigration, but no country changed its quota as a result.

One of the most dramatic revelations in *While Six Million Died* is that in 1942 a Swiss representative of the World Jewish Congress, Gerhart Riegner, received apparently reliable intelligence information that many months earlier Hitler had ordered the extermination of all the Jews in Europe. At this time, the majority of European Jews were still alive. Riegner conveyed the information to the U. S. consulate. In subsequent months, while the U. S. attempted to substantiate the report, Riegner supplied additional corroborating evidence. The U. S. response was one of skepticism and



Those Jews not incarcerated or slaughtered by Nazis were uprooted from European homes.

indifference. Attempts were made to suppress the information in government circles. In November 1942, "an impressive collection of affidavits and personal testimony descended upon . . . the State Department and Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House." Nothing was done.

—RACHEL TOWNE

The American way of life



When the jet set wants to unwind, an excuse is all that's needed. Preferably an elaborate one.

Take the Dec. 1 extravaganza in New York's Plaza Hotel, for example. Sponsors of the \$10,000-\$20,000 private bash decided that since these are troubled times, as they say, the ball should have an analogous setting from the past. So they patterned it after the galas in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg in 1910. Peasant revolts, strikes, assassinations and general all-around turmoil were common in those days, too, they recalled.

The urge for authenticity did not end there, however. Luckily, the availability of a ready-made, bona fide Russian prince, Colonel Serge Obolensky, gave it that real authentic touch. So the ball was held in honor of his eightieth birthday.

Obolensky, an American parachute hero in World War II, has been a prize attraction at other costume balls, for which he dresses as the prince he was born to be.

He took it all very seriously. At one point in the preparations, he even stepped in to avert a major crisis. "I was terribly upset," he explained. "I'd heard this terrible rumor that the Romanones were dressing as the czar and czarina. It would have been a terrible disrespect. We consider the czar a martyr—a murdered martyr."

Colonel Obolensky thought he had saved the day when he phoned Countess de Romanones in Spain to voice his displeasure with her costume. Perpetrating such a terrible atrocity would never even occur to her, she assured him.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Wyatt Cooper (nee Gloria Vanderbilt) arrived in a white velvet and swansdown gown with glass beads said to be an exact copy of one Empress Alexandra used

to wear around the Winter Palace. At a cost of \$5,000, what else could she do with the gown but wear it? Besides, it was probably the only pre-revolutionary Russian replica she owned.

Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney wore an iridescent green and red dress with gigantic butterfly sleeves and one million gold sequins, as well as her emeralds and a tiara. "I'm kind of like a flying mermaid," she ventured. "Or Dr. Zhivago." Anything to feel like one of the crowd.

With the rest of the 400 guests similarly bedecked, it's not surprising that a good number of them stumbled and tripped their way up the red-carpeted steps to the Plaza's Grand Ballroom. Those who did make it to the top were able to renew their energy at a strategically placed vodka bar.

Mrs. William C. Langley was an especially big hit. Besides singing with the violinists, she wore a much admired headdress of mobile birds perched on thin wires protruding from her hair. "I'm ahead of fashion," she was quick to point out to those who might be wondering. "I'm 1911. The 1910 things were so awful."

The prize guest at the gala was Martha Mitchell, whose ebullient vacuity is seldom out of place on the party circuit. She talked about her weight and accused photographers of making her look like she weighed 550 pounds. "I'm overweight," she stated with her usual candor, "but not *that* much. It's all those Washington parties."

Most of the elegant partygoers didn't even notice when two guests showed the terribly poor taste to arrive dressed as Leon Trotsky, clutching a book by Marx, and Rosa Luxemburg. Apparently no one appreciated such an unanticipated historical touch.

—JOHN SORUM

How CP defines 'independent' political action

By DOUG JENNESS

In the Dec. 25 *Militant*, we discussed the Communist Party's support to Democratic Party candidates in the 1970 elections. But during the campaign the CP also talked about the need for "independent political action." What did they mean by this?

A few days after the elections, the Nov. 7 *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, editorially commented: "There can be little doubt at this point that the nation — and especially California — is ready for meaningful efforts to build independent politics and independent political movements in the direction of a third party. . . . The job of those on the left, and we can begin immediately to prepare for next year's municipal elections, must be to guarantee that Tuesday's was the last election in which we are forced to select between one, two, or three lesser evils."

What examples of "independent politics" are pointed to for emulation? The Oct. 10 *People's World* carried an editorial explaining that "If there was ever a model for the left on how to build independent political action, the Dellums campaign is it." Ron Dellums, Black city councilman in Berkeley, was elected to U. S. Congress from California's 7th C. D. on the Democratic Party ticket.

From this example of "independent political action," the CP clearly indicates that it does not mean independence from the capitalist parties. The editorial admits that what it means by "independence" is that Dellums won the Democratic primary despite the opposition of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and some leading sections of the Democratic party, forcing many of them to support him in the November election.

Despite Dellum's opposition to the traditional Democratic Party leadership and his progressive stand on many important issues, the very act of standing as a candidate in the Democratic primary meant that his campaign served to foster illusions in the Democratic Party's ability to solve the problems facing Black people. The Democratic Party,

as well as the Republican Party, is run and controlled by the capitalist rulers to help maintain their domination. Never have these parties served any other purpose.

In the history of both the Democratic and Republican parties, there have been many oppositional and reform movements, and some have successfully placed new leaders, factions or cliques at the head of sections of their parties. But none of these internal changes have ever altered the basic character of these parties as one of the main vehicles through which the tiny capitalist class maintains its rule over the United States.

Dellums will be unable to serve the real interests of the Black community despite all of his promises, because he is now an elected government official of a party that is an enemy of the Black community and he must take responsibility for what his party does.

In the Nov. 7 *People's World* editorial, the CP indicated that it hoped these "independent political movements" would evolve "in the direction of a third party." What sort of confusion are these hucksters dishing up? They tell us that they are for "independent political action," then inform us that the best model is a Democratic Party campaign, and at the same time say they are looking toward a third party.

We can get a bit clearer picture of what they mean when we see what kind of third party candidates they backed. In an Oct. 3 editorial, the *People's World* endorsed the Ricardo Romo campaign for governor of California on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket as "the opportunity for building independence." The Peace and Freedom Party, which won ballot status in California in 1968 and put up a slate of candidates that year, is run by a small collection of radicals who put forth a program of reforms without challenging the capitalist system. Although the CP was critical of the California Peace and Freedom Party for its "ultraleftism," it supported Romo against Democrat Jesse Unruh and Republican Reagan because Romo's

attempts to woo support from liberal Democrats coincided with the CP's viewpoint.

The CP's strategy, basically, is to work inside and outside the Democratic Party to get liberal Democrats, labor bureaucrats and reformist Black and Chicano leaders into one party without reactionaries.

At this point, the CP sees third candidates primarily as a pressure move on liberal Democrats. For example, regarding the Illinois 1970 senatorial race between Adlai Stevenson III, Democrat, and Sen. Ralph Smith, Republican, Jack Kling in the Oct. 10 *Daily World Magazine* wrote: "Whether or not Stevenson responds to the demands of the mass movements depends in large measure on the concerted pressure they can bring to bear on his candidacy. This can compel him to change from the strategy of self-defeat to one of victory over Smith."

Continuing Kling adds, "The absence of an independent, mass-based, peace and freedom candidate for the Senate makes it more difficult to defeat Smith."

This class collaborationist strategy is in sharp contradiction to supporting independent Black and Chicano parties. The call for independent Black and Chicano parties is based on the nationalist struggles of America's largest oppressed nationalities — struggles which continually confront the capitalist rulers.

When Blacks and Chicanos demand and struggle for better living conditions, an end to racist oppression, and control over their lives, it is either a Democratic or Republican official who refuses to meet these just demands and orders the cops to move against those fighting for them. The demands and needs of the Black and Chicano communities are diametrically opposed to the policies of these politicians who defend capitalist rule. This necessitates a political break by these movements with capitalist politics.

The CP's opposition to Black and Chicano na-

continued on page 22

The 18-year-old vote: its potential political impact

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK — In a landmark decision Dec. 21, the U. S. Supreme Court extended the right to vote in federal elections to approximately 22 million Americans who are presently disenfranchised. It did so by upholding the constitutionality of the law passed by Congress last June and signed into law by President Nixon on June 22.

The constitutionality of the law had been challenged by four states — Arizona, Idaho, Oregon, and Texas.

The three provisions of the voting

rights amendments of 1970 which the Court upheld were to 1) lower the voting age to 18; 2) abolish residency requirements of longer than 30 days; and 3) outlaw literacy tests for voting.

This was an important decision. Above all, it reflects the impact of the growing radicalization of young people.

The law, which will give the vote to more than 11 million young people, was passed in the first place in response to the mounting disaffection of American youth with the capitalist system. It was adopted by Congress on June 17 in the wake of the historic nationwide student strike last May and hastily signed into law by Nixon only a few days later. It was a clear sign of the awkward position in which the government was placed by a generation of young opponents of the Vietnam war who argued that if you're old enough to fight you're old enough to vote.

While the ruling class evidently hopes that this law will help to defuse youthful protest movements, pull demonstrators off the streets, and direct them toward more "legitimate" electoral activity, this may not be so easy.

Commentators are generally claiming — with often immodest clairvoyance — that the outcome of elections will not be affected by the addition of millions of young Americans to the polls (providing, of course, they are registered. On this the government has shown little interest and taken no initiative).

The actual outcome of each election is, however, far from the only — or even necessarily the main — factor.

Whatever the outcome, this law opens up many new possibilities for revolutionary socialists.

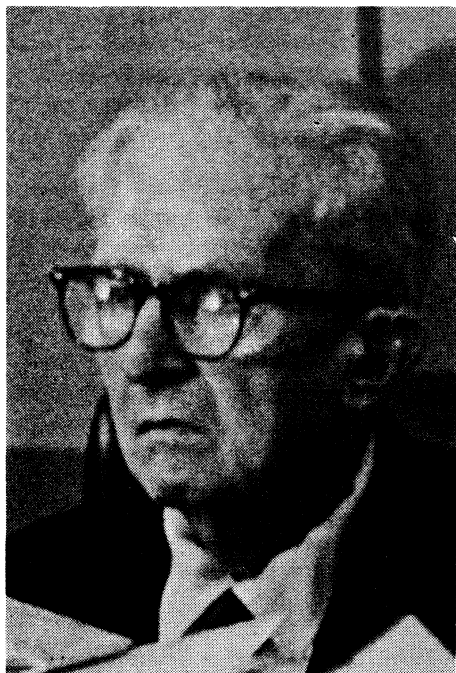
Their campaigns are more apt to appeal to young people than most, for example. "To be eligible to vote and to be qualified to vote means little if there is no one on the ballot worth voting for," the *New York Times* editorialized Dec. 26. Not only are revolutionary-socialist candidates worth voting for, they are worth working for. This law will facilitate their efforts to reach young people with a program for revolutionary change.

The right to vote without the right to hear all candidates — including revolutionary candidates — is also meaningless. Adoption of this law will make it easier for college and high school students to force their administrations to provide a platform for all political points of view.

In its decision, the Supreme Court refused to uphold the provision which would have extended the right to vote to 18-21-year-olds in state and local as well as federal elections. Only three states presently allow 18-year-olds to vote in state and local elections. All other states may now be confronted with the confusing need to provide separate registration books and perhaps separate ballots or voting booths for young voters. These complications may help persuade some states to amend their constitutions to provide for an 18-year-old vote. The only other way is through an amendment to the federal Constitution. Sen. Edward Kennedy has introduced such an amendment as a quicker alternative.

A hint of the potential impact the Supreme Court decision may ultimate-

ly have in a related area is suggested by a Dec. 3 ruling by Massachusetts attorney general Robert H. Quinn. He ruled that any registered voter 18 or over is also eligible to hold state office. This could prove embarrassing to the other states which currently maintain discriminatory age limitations on officeholders.



PREMONITION? Elder statesmen may find selves having second thoughts on wisdom of teen-age vote.



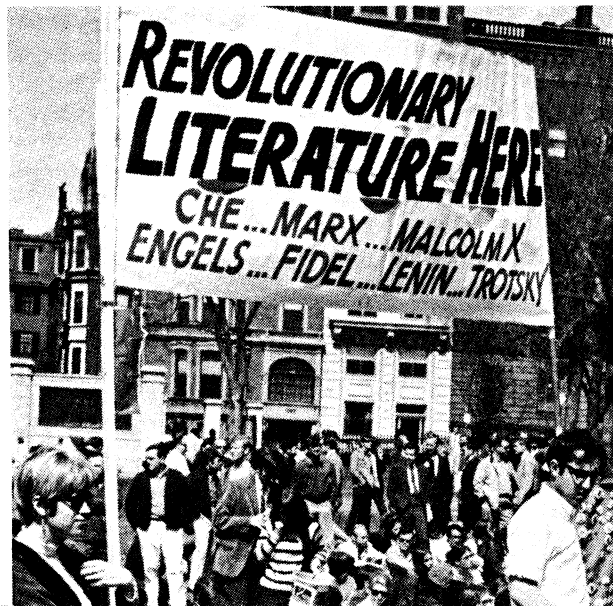
A Militant Interview

Pathfinder to print further works by Trotsky

Growing radicalization gives new impetus to a unique publishing venture

By ALEX HARTE

During the past several years, numerous of the major commercial publishing houses have been publishing works by Marxists and other radicals. Prior to this innovation, such companies as Pathfinder Press and its predecessors had the almost exclusive responsibility for making such material



available and even today still have the major responsibility for assuring that such works are on the market. Some of Pathfinder's accomplishments in this field as well as its expansion plans were discussed in this interview early in December with George Weissman, chief editor for Pathfinder.

Militant: Pathfinder Press, like its predecessors, Merit Publishers and Pioneer Publishers, used to be best known as the American publishers of Leon Trotsky, and of his cothinkers in this country like James P. Cannon, George Novack and Joseph Hansen. But in recent years you've widened your authors list considerably, and you seem to be getting a good response, aren't you?

Weissman: Yes. Actually, it was the hope from the start of Pioneer Publishers to publish a broad selection, international and American, of writers from the past and writers still alive, representing various revolutionary and radical currents. But it just wasn't possible to begin the diversification until about five years ago.

Since then we've published works by Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Rosa Luxemburg, Eugene V. Debs, W. E. B. Du Bois. Those have had a good reception, along with writings by Fidel Castro, Etheridge Knight, Frank Kofsky, Ernest Mandel, and Evelyn Reed. We also expect a success for Myrna Lamb's book of plays on women's liberation themes, *The Mod Donna* and *Scyklon Z*, which will be on sale some time this month.

And we intend to continue along these lines to

the best of our ability, which, unfortunately, is limited by our lack of capital. And we intend to continue to publish and encourage publication by new young writers like Mary-Alice Waters, Peter Camejo, Peter Buch, Caroline Lund, and others.

Militant: Alongside the expansion of your authors list, you also seem to have expanded your list of the writings of Trotsky too. Is that something that you're also going to continue? If so, just what are your plans with respect to Trotsky? For example, can we expect an edition of his complete works in the next period?

Weissman: We began to expand the number of our Trotsky titles in 1967, because around then came the happy coincidence of a growing interest in his ideas, as the current radicalization began to pick up momentum, and growing resources on our part to edit and publish or republish his books and pamphlets.

In 1967, we put out the collection called *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, and it has proved to be one of the best-selling publications by Trotsky we've ever had. It's in



its third printing now and still doing well.

In 1968, we were lucky enough to get the rights to republish *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, and it has been doing very well—better, I think, than it did in its first edition by Harpers in 1938. In fact, I would say that Trotsky is being bought and read more today than he was during the last years of his life. That's certainly true about a book like *The Revolution Betrayed*. I'd say that we've probably sold more copies of that in the last year than Doubleday and Doran sold in the first five years after its publication in 1937.

In 1968, we also republished *Whither France?*, which has been out of print for decades. In 1969, we issued *Military Writings*, the collections *On the Trade Unions*, *On Engels* and *Kautsky*, On

the Labor Party in the United States, and a new compilation called *Fascism, What It Is and How to Fight It*. And we began the series *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, which I'll return to in a minute.

But as you've noticed, 1970 was our banner year. Our new titles are *Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art*, now being bound, which we hope will be on sale before New Year's. Two more volumes of the *Writings*. A collection called *Trotsky on the Paris Commune*, to help celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Commune next March. Another called *Women and the Family*. Both of these contain material never before translated into English. Both are at the printers now and we hope will be off the press this month. We also had the collection *On the Jewish Question*, and earlier in the year we brought back into circulation the autobiography *My Life* and the full text of the 1938 essay *Marxism in Our Time*, which had been available only in abridged form as the introduction to *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*.

Militant: That's more Trotsky titles than you'd ever added in any single year?

Weissman: Yes, and excuse me, I forgot one—*Problems of Civil War*. That's a very important speech, with relevance for a lot of discussion in the revolutionary movement today throughout the world. Somehow it was overlooked for 46 years, so far as translation into English went. We had also intended to restore two out-of-print titles—*The Third International After Lenin* and *The Stalin School of Falsification*—but didn't quite make it for 1970. So they will be out in 1971.

Militant: Can we get back to the question about a collected works?

Weissman: Gladly. But it's a complicated matter, and I'd like to answer it adequately because it's





LEON TROTSKY

a question we get asked often, especially since we started the **Writings** series.

First of all, there's the question of volume. Trotsky was a prolific writer, and although he was assassinated while he was still in his prime as a writer, with plans for many more important books, he had been writing for over 40 years at the time of his death. One of his secretaries estimated that Trotsky's lifetime writings were three times the size of Lenin's complete works, which now fill over 40 volumes. I guess that it would take a thick volume just to list all of the things he published in his lifetime.

So when you talk about the collected works of Trotsky you may be talking about a project involving a hundred volumes or more. Pathfinder has had a modest expansion recently, but a project of this magnitude is clearly beyond our capacity.

That's not all of the problem, however. What I have been talking about are the things published, not the things written. Trotsky's papers are in the Houghton Library at Harvard University, where they are divided into two parts—a part open to the public, and a part closed to the public until 1980. This was at Trotsky's wish, in order to protect his correspondents at a time when most of Europe was under Nazi or Stalinist domination and even in the U. S. the future of democratic liberties was uncertain.

Isaac Deutscher, who was granted special permission to inspect the material in the closed section, said that most of its 20,000 documents are political correspondence with Trotsky's comrades and friends. Twenty thousand! And apparently only for the last exile period, that is, from 1929 to 1940. Some of Trotsky's political letters were pamphlet-length. So all I can say is that nobody knows right now, probably not even the Harvard archivists, how much volume the closed section will add to the body of Trotsky's complete works.

I should also add that there's a great deal of Trotsky material locked away in the Soviet government's special archives—minutes and speeches at meetings, and so on. When these will be made available nobody can say. You know what it will take to pry that material loose, but let's hope that it will be before 1980.

Militant: Then just what is the purpose of the **Writings of Leon Trotsky** series? What will its scope be? Is it just a stopgap measure?

Weissman: Well, it started out from the realization, which I've just described to you, that a complete or collected works was out of the question for the foreseeable future. And along with that realization, a strong feeling that the writings published during Trotsky's last exile, 1929 to 1940, his maturest period, should somehow be made available to the present generation of young radicals—while they are still young; that is, right away.

Since even that is a big job, we divided the list in two. One was the part already permanently in print as books or pamphlets—whether published by Pathfinder or someone else; things like **The History of the Russian Revolution** (University of Michigan Press), **The Revolution Betrayed**, and **Their Morals and Ours**. These there was no point in duplicating.

The other part—books never translated into En-

glish (like **Les Crimes de Staline** of 1937), pamphlets that had gone out of print, newspaper and magazine articles, letters, interviews, articles that had been printed only in internal party bulletins—this part we decided to put together in the **Writings**.

Even that was a big job, I repeat. And the editors at first decided that they would have to restrict themselves to what had already been translated into English. Not out of choice, but out of necessity. First, because translators were not available, and second, because they wanted to get the project moving.

Fortunately, they were soon able to change this policy. The first volume aroused not only general interest but offers from translators to help. Meanwhile, the editors—George Breitman and Evelyn Reed for the first three volumes, Breitman and Bev Scott for the remaining ones—learned that in Trotsky's Russian **Bulletin of the Opposition**, there were more than 100⁺ articles that had never been translated into English. They decided last year that at least these must be included in the **Writings**, and now, they report, they have all been translated, thanks to excellent cooperation from various volunteers.

In addition, scores of articles have been translated from French and other European languages, although the first editions of the **Writings** cannot claim to completeness in this respect, even of published articles.

Another decision made at the beginning—in the interests of speed and of keeping the price as low as possible—was to offset the pamphlets and articles as much as possible and to keep new composition at a minimum. This meant putting out the volumes in large format rather than standard book size. It also meant retaining typographical errors and inconsistencies in spelling and punctuation from one article to another. And it was also decided to keep annotation to a minimum.

Some of us were not completely happy with the result from a typographical point of view; and some book dealers declined to handle them because of the large format. But what we sacrificed in one direction we certainly made up for in others. We decided to go ahead with the series in February 1969. The first volume, covering the 1939-40 period, appeared in June, and in it the editors said, 'We hope to be able to produce two volumes, each the equivalent of an ordinary book of 300-400 pages, every year.'

To some of us that sounded like the kind of brash promise publishers often make and fail to keep. (We've done it ourselves.) But the second volume (1938-39) appeared in November 1969, the third (1937-38) in April 1970, and the fourth (covering Trotsky's stay in Norway, 1935-36) in November 1970.

As a result of this, and as a result of the fact that the volumes have been reaching a wider audience than we originally expected, we've had some second thoughts about the format. Now we've decided that starting with the fifth volume, scheduled for next spring, we will change over to standard-size book format, which means that all the type will be set fresh for this edition, enabling the editors to correct typographical errors, poor translations, etc. In addition, the editors plan to do a serious job of annotating and prefacing all of the material for the benefit especially of the present generation.

Militant: How many volumes will the series amount to?

Weissman: Starting backwards, there were three volumes for the years Trotsky lived in Mexico, and one volume for the Norwegian period. The editors estimate that there will be two volumes for the French period (1933-35) and possibly three or four for the Turkish (1929-33). So it will be nine or 10 for the whole. Maybe after that we'll consider another, shorter series covering the first five years of the Left Opposition (1923-28), but there has been no decision on that.

Militant: Will the volumes in the new format come out at the previous rate of two a year?

Weissman: Since they will take a lot more work of editing, proofreading, etc., we can't be sure about that. The editors hope the project can be completed by 1973 or 1974, but I think promises won't be possible until about a year from now.

Militant: So that's what else we can expect in the way of new Trotsky titles in the coming year or two?

Weissman: No, not at all. Leaving pamphlets aside, we have at least four new books in various stages of preparation:

1. **The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany.** This is a big book containing Trotsky's major writings about the rise of Nazism in the 1930s, some for the first time in English. Since there were too many for one book, the others on this subject will be found in the **Writings**.

2. **The Spanish Revolution, 1930-1939.** This includes virtually everything Trotsky published on Spain from the days of the monarchy through the Civil War.

3. **Leon Trotsky Speaks.** This starts with the 1906 speech to the czarist court trying the leaders of the first St. Petersburg Soviet, through the revolution of 1917 and the subsequent civil war, speeches against the rise of Stalinism in the 1920s, the speech to Copenhagen students in 1932, the speech prepared for New Yorkers during the Moscow trials of 1937, and many others, some for the first time in English.

4. **Leon Trotsky on Culture and Science.** This will be a companion volume to the new collection on literature and art.

And since public interest in Trotsky is growing, so is the interest of other publishers. Doubleday is scheduled to bring out Trotsky's **The Young Lenin** next year. G. P. Putnam's will be putting out a newly retranslated version of the 1924 collection **Lenin**. I've also heard reports about other plans by other publishers.

There is still a lot of Trotsky untranslated. There's a three-volume book from the civil war period, **How the Revolution Armed Itself**. There's a two-volume book, **1905**, and another two-volume work, **1917**. And that doesn't complete the list.

If nobody else will publish these books, Pathfinder will some day. But aren't there some big publishing firms in this country today astute enough and enterprising enough to hire translators and get these books out now? We'd welcome some more competition.

N.Y. firemen fighting for new contract

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, Jan. 5—Firemen here are on the fifth day of a "work action" protesting the city's refusal to reach a settlement on their contract by the time it expired on Dec. 31. Mayor Lindsay's administration charges the action is a violation of a restraining order and also a violation of the Taylor Law, which prohibits public employees from striking.

On Jan. 4, the firemen's union, the Uniformed Firefighters Association, announced it was suing the city for not bargaining in good faith. If they win the suit, they will be exempted from the antistrike provisions of the Taylor Law. The city currently has a

suit in court against the union for violating the no-strike injunction.

A nonstop hearing on both suits has been in progress in the New York State Supreme Court for more than 24 hours. The judge said he was prepared to keep all parties there "ad infinitum."

City sanitation workers and police are also putting strong pressure on the city to get pay increases of 30 to 45 percent, but they are not engaging in job actions at this time.

The UFA work action involves refusing to perform nonemergency duties such as fire inspections, fire drills, and maintenance of equipment, but does include the answering of all firealarms and related work such as inspecting gas leaks. The UFA has the support of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, which voted seven-to-one to support the men.

The two main demands are a 30-percent pay increase and retirement at full pay after 25 years service. Rank-and-file firemen interviewed said that the pension demand was especially important, as many firemen, after they reach their 50s, have trouble doing the heavy physical work required but at the same time have trou-

ble getting other work because of their age and lack of any other training.

The wage demand includes a cost-of-living "escalator clause" based on the U.S. Department of Labor Index for New York City. According to the government's figures, prices are rising at a rate of 7.5 percent a year in the city. The Lindsay administration's only offer has been a raise of three percent, only \$1,000 over the course of a three-year contract. This was flatly rejected by all unions concerned.

Calendar

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BERKELEY-OAKLAND

THE NEED FOR AN INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY. Speaker: Robert L. Allen, author of *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*. Fri., Jan. 15, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For further information call 654-9728.

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Militant Labor Forum of the Air: Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Sun., Jan. 10: High School Students in Motion. Tues., Jan. 12, and Sun., Jan. 17: Apartheid in South Africa. For more information call 536-6981.

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ZERO POPULATION GROWTH: ARE THERE TOO MANY BABIES? Debate: Phil Passen and Steve Klaber. Fri., Jan. 15, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Debs Hall Forum.

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THE POLITICAL UPRISING IN POLAND. Speaker: Doug James, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. 4th St.). 8th fl. Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

THIRD WORLD WOMEN AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speakers: Julia Hare; Madelein Reel, a Chicana from Merritt Chicano Student Union. Fri., Jan. 15, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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...CP/elections

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tionalism, particularly when it takes the form of independent nationalist parties, explains why the CP did not publicly endorse or promote La Raza Unida Party campaigns in Texas and Colorado in 1970 and why there has scarcely been a word about these organizations in their press. La Raza Unida Party candidates opposed capitalist candidates in several dozen city, county, and state electoral contests, and one candidate in La Salle County, Texas, won with a write-in campaign.

The CP attacks the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance as divisive because they support independent political parties of the Black and Chicano communities. The Oct. 10 *World Magazine* article by Jack Kling on the Illinois elections blamed the absence of a mass peace and freedom party on "the lack of unity among the people's movements."

He partially attributes this deficiency to "the Trotskyite forces in the student and peace movements" who "have worked feverishly to sabotage any unity between the peace, labor, Black liberation, and antirepressive movements, despite the fact that most of these movements are seriously groping for it."

Kling has already indicated that he favored a peace and freedom candidate whose role would be to help Adlai Stevenson defeat the Republican incumbent. If this is what the CP means by unity, the YSA and SWP want no part of such treacherous arrangements. We don't believe Adlai Stevenson III or Ron Dellums are the answer.

The YSA and SWP have consistently fought for united mass actions with as many forces as possible around specific demands in the women's, Black, Chicano and antiwar movements.

The YSA and SWP support the unity of Blacks in their own organizations and the unity of Chicanos in their own organizations to fight for their liberation. With such organizations, they will be in a much more advantageous position to form alliances with other forces in society—alliances for struggle against capitalist oppression. The kinds of unity we vigorously condemn are electoral coalitions with any section of the Democratic Party, the Peace and Freedom Party or any other capitalist reform outfit.

would have no objection to their developing programs for the days immediately following April 24, which would be organized under their aegis. In short, while we are firm that the action we sponsor be in support of the demand for immediate withdrawal and be programmed to be peaceful and orderly, on virtually all other questions we are as flexible and will be as accommodating as is humanly possible.

It goes without saying that in the event it became clear that a much broader and much larger demonstration could be built on a date other than April 24, an emergency convention could be convened to reconsider the date—something we indicated to Lens and those who attended the convention. On the other hand, if there is political agreement on the character of the action, and if there are no really serious problems with April 24, and there has already been extensive activity in building that date, then that should be the date for a united demonstration by the antiwar movement. . . .

Peace and best wishes,
Jim Lafferty
Ruth Gage-Colby
Jerry Gordon
Don Gurewitz
John T. Williams
Coordinators, NPAC

...NPAC letter

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are anxious to have the other coalition participate in shaping the plans for the demonstration. We

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THE MILITANT

California teachers back April 24

MONTEREY—The annual state convention of the California Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) held here Dec. 26-29 voted to endorse and support the upcoming national antiwar demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D. C., called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

The more than 300 delegates representing 16,000 union teachers throughout California, overwhelmingly supported the Vietnam resolution, which committed their union to active support to NPAC and the April 24 demonstration. Brought to the floor of the convention on the last day as

a "Special Order of Business," the antiwar resolution required a two-thirds vote before the regular agenda could be suspended.

The attitude of the CFT toward the antiwar movement and mass demonstrations was clearly set forth in the opening three paragraphs of the resolution, which read:

"Because it is the policy of the CFT to oppose the war in Vietnam and Southeast Asia and to call for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops, and

"Because the resolutions of the trade union movement on Vietnam carry

the greatest weight when accompanied by an effective program of action involving the mobilization of working people in mass demonstrations against the war, and

"Because the CFT believes the trade-union movement must demonstrate its opposition to the war in practice. . . ." The CFT resolution went on to designate an official representative to the NPAC Steering Committee and to commit the CFT to contribute a minimum of \$500 to NPAC toward the building of the demonstrations. Jeffrey Mackler, AFT Local 1423, Hayward, was des-

ignated the union's representative to NPAC.

The resolution further stated that the CFT would "distribute pertinent NPAC literature to AFT locals in California" and "publish a special issue of its newspaper" geared to building teacher involvement in the action. It was passed overwhelmingly by voice vote with no speaker in opposition.

The CFT is the California affiliate of the 200,000-member American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), which recently voted by referendum to oppose the war.

Burgos trial backfires on Franco regime

By DAVID THORSTAD

JAN. 5—The commutation of the death sentences for six of the 15 Basque nationalists was not an easy one for the Franco regime, unaccustomed as it is to giving in to pressure.

Franco announced his decision to commute the death penalties to 30 years in prison Dec. 30, two days after the vicious verdict was handed down. In addition to death for the six, the defendants received a total of 519 years, six months, and four days in jail.

The dramatic opposition abroad to these sentences played a key role in persuading Franco not to uphold them. Demonstrations occurred throughout Europe, including Spain. Spanish ships were boycotted in Marseilles and Genoa. Tens of thousands of workers participated in work stoppages throughout France. Venezuelan airport ground crews and unionists

threatened never again to service Spanish planes. The Venezuelan government went so far as to ban demonstrations. Pope Paul placed an unprecedented personal telephone call to Franco to press for clemency. Some of Franco's own ministers threatened to resign.

Statements of opposition came from a number of governments (the United States was not among them). Those that had the greatest impact on the regime came from West Germany, France, Belgium and England. Their concern was viewed with some sensitivity by a regime that has been trying for more than a decade to emerge from its isolation and move closer toward integration into Europe.

The trial itself constituted a failure for the Franco regime. "The government apparently wanted to make the Burgos trial an indictment of the Basque nationalist movement, *Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna*," stated *Le Monde*

weekly English edition Dec. 16. "But the plan seems to have backfired.

"What the trial did reveal was not the extent of Basque 'terrorism' but the torture practiced by General Franco's police."

To carry out the executions was a risk the regime was not willing to take. Not only would it have severely tarnished Spain's "liberalized" image, but it would have led to a break with the church—one of the principal supports of the regime.

A further measure of the difficulties in which the trial placed the regime can be gauged from the large army-organized, government-supported demonstrations in Burgos Dec. 17 and Madrid the following day. These pro-regime demonstrations—particularly the one in Madrid—were full of contradictions.

They reflected a reassertion of authority by the army and a readiness to challenge Franco's handling of the

Basques. The Madrid demonstration actually arose out of an act of indiscipline by captains of the Carabanchel cavalry corps who signed and circulated a manifesto demanding firm government.

Franco and his ministers stood on the balcony of the Royal Palace as the crowd marched by. Three of these ministers belong to the dominant Opus Dei faction of the cabinet, which seeks a more technocratic, "liberal" and European orientation for Spain. The split between this faction and the hardliners surfaced in the demonstration. "Out with the Opus Dei!" chanted some sections of the crowd as they passed beneath the balcony.

The Burgos trial also gave new impetus to the forces of opposition in Spain, however. And any new escalation of repression against them—as the regime is undoubtedly considering—will certainly meet with opposition both within Spain and internationally.

Secrecy shrouded extradition of Angela Davis

NEW YORK—*Time* magazine called it "one of the most secretive, security-shrouded prison transfers ever planned in the U. S."

So Angela Davis was moved from the Women's House of Detention in New York City to the Marin County jail in San Rafael, Calif.

At 3 a.m. Dec. 22, Angela Davis was awakened, handcuffed, and hustled away by car caravan to McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey. From there she was placed aboard a propeller-driven California Air National Guard plane—in the age of jet transportation—for an agonizing 12 and

one-half hour flight across the country.

This latest episode in the Davis case came after Supreme Court justice John M. Harlan refused her petition to stop extradition. Motions against extradition submitted by Davis' temporary defense counsel, John Abt and Margaret Burnham, were dispensed with in 10 weeks. Such a procedure usually takes several months, if not a year or more. Thus, there is strong basis for contending that the New York courts conducted a railroad operation on the Davis case.

Davis, a member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and a former professor

of philosophy at UCLA, is charged with the kidnapping and murdering of a California judge, Harold Haley.

In other developments on the case, Howard Moore, a prominent Black lawyer from Atlanta, has agreed to defend Davis. Moore has previously defended Black militants such as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael.

The prosecutor will be Albert Harris. Harris became the prosecutor because the Marin County district attorney, Bruce Bales, disqualified himself on account of having been a close friend of Judge Haley. Yet, it was Bales who filed the affidavits and warrant for the arrest of Davis in the aftermath of the

Aug. 7 courtroom incident in which Judge Haley was killed. When FBI head J. Edgar Hoover placed Davis on the "most-wanted-list" last August, he based himself in part on Bales' affidavits.

The flimsiness of Bales' allegations came down when Abt and Burnham filed a direct challenge to them in court last Nov. 5. In response, the California state government hastily got together a grand jury that handed down indictments on Davis five days later. Since then, a transcript of the grand jury proceedings has been denied to Davis and her lawyers.

DEFENDANTS, LAWYERS, HARASSED IN PANTHER TRIAL

By DERRICK MORRISON

JAN. 5—Judge John M. Murtagh has been flaunting some very bold language and making some very high-handed decisions in recent weeks.

Murtagh is presiding over the trial of 13 New York Black Panthers charged with conspiring to bomb department stores and police stations. Most of the prosecution's evidence rests with the testimony of six Black police agents.

On Dec. 28, Judge Murtagh revoked bails of \$100,000 each for seven of the defendants, accusing them of "contemptuous" conduct. He charged the defense counsel with "aiding and inspiring" this conduct and "willful" misbehavior. One of the defense lawyers, William Crain, has already been cited for contempt of court.

Judge Murtagh has shown himself to be very intolerant of the defense, if

not openly embracing the prosecution. Several times the prosecution has not needed to object to defense counsel's questioning of an agent because the judge has done it instead.

After revoking bail for the seven, Judge Murtagh threatened to rejaill the four defendants now free on bail. This threat became a reality for Michael Tabor on the very next day.

Tabor didn't show up in court until

the early afternoon Dec. 29 because of an asthma attack. He even brought a note recommending bed rest from the doctor he had seen. But Judge Murtagh contested the excuse, had Tabor arrested, and revoked his bail.

Five days later, Judge Murtagh released Tabor on bail again. Such actions are designed to intimidate both counsel and defendants, making a fair trial impossible.